

FEBRUARY 1955
TWENTY CENTS

The American **FEDERATIONIST**

**A. F. of L. Legislative Council
Holds First 1955 Meeting**

See Page 3



THE 'RIGHT' TO EXPLOIT
by Dave Beck

SECURITY WITHOUT INJUSTICE
by James A. Campbell

**GAZING INTO THAT
CRYSTAL BALL**
by Peter Henle

**'RIGHT TO WORK' LAWS
CAN BE REPEALED**
by Gene Derrickson



If you do your part to make your organization alive and strong, you can look forward to better pay and better working conditions in the future. And also greater security than you enjoy today. On the other hand, if you neglect your union and it becomes debilitated, it cannot do an effective job for you. A weak union can't win higher wages and improved conditions. A weak union is pushed

around. So, in fairness to yourself and your fellow trade unionists, won't you do your part to help build your union? It isn't hard. Just take a genuine interest in union affairs. Study your union's problems. Bring new members into the fold. And attend union meetings regularly. This is the sensible, practical way to build your union—and it will pay off for you in satisfaction and in security.

ATTEND MEETINGS REGULARLY

The American FEDERATIONIST

Official Monthly Magazine of the American Federation of Labor

FEBRUARY, 1955

GEORGE MEANY, Editor

Vol. 62, No. 2

In This Issue

NATIONAL LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL HOLDS MEETING.....	3
MORE PROGRESS IS MADE ON UNITY.....	4
GAZING INTO THAT CRYSTAL BALL..... <i>Peter Henle</i>	5
EDWARD P. MORGAN SPEAKS.....	7
THE 'RIGHT' TO EXPLOIT..... <i>Dave Beck</i>	8
AUDITING PROGRAM IS LAUNCHED..... <i>William F. Schnitzler</i>	11
UNIONISM IN RETAILING IS GAINING STRENGTH <i>James A. Suffridge and Vernon A. Housewright</i>	12
IT IS NOT 'SOCIALISM'..... <i>William A. Calvin</i>	14
'RIGHT TO WORK' LAWS CAN BE REPEALED... <i>Gene Derrickson</i>	15
EDITORIALS..... <i>George Meany</i>	16
FROM THE LIPS OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN.....	17
JOSEPH A. MULLANEY..... <i>C. W. Sickles</i>	18
FIRE FIGHTERS AGAINST MUSCULAR DYSTROPHY <i>John P. Redmond</i>	19
SECURITY WITHOUT INJUSTICE..... <i>James A. Campbell</i>	20
'RIGHT TO WORK' LAWS VICTIMIZE THE WORKER <i>Rev. Dr. Walter G. Muelder</i>	22
POLYDOR HAS NO USE FOR COMMIES.....	24
HERE'S SOMETHING WE CAN LEARN FROM BUSINESS <i>John R. Stevenson</i>	25
LABOR NEWS BRIEFS.....	27
CHRISTMAS WAS MERRY IN MINNEAPOLIS.....	30
WHAT THEY SAY.....	32
JUNIOR UNION STORY..... <i>Annabel Lee Glenn</i>	Inside Cover

Don't Quit

Life is a strange mixture of conflicting elements. Among them are good and evil, beauty and ugliness, greatness and pettiness, nobility and sordidness, heroism and cowardice. An awakening to this reality often stings.

Innocence is often another name for inexperience. We adopt ideals, not doubting our ability to be qualified for them. A person assumes the duties of his chosen work with unqualified confidence and boundless hope. Soon he runs into unexpected difficulties. He may be required to lower his standards, do shoddy work, use inferior materials, indulge in misrepresentations or accept compromises which are not to his liking. He encounters pettiness, jealousy or arbitrariness for which he is unprepared. He encounters a disorderliness and indifference with which he is unable to cope. Then novelty wanes and he finds himself engaged in trivial details and a deadening routine. A succession of disillusionments, great and small, tests the strength and genuineness of his attachment.

Most people, at one time or another, come under the spell of high ideals. Once aroused, their interest rapidly ripens into ardor. Then things go wrong. They are exposed to a succession of shocking surprises. The object to which they have committed themselves makes unexpected demands on their time, energy and funds which they are reluctant to meet. Departures are made of which they do not approve. Others fail to share enthusiasm and turn a cold shoulder on sound plans. It is one thing to become attached to an appealing objective and another to meet its stern demands.

Numerous situations arise which, if not successfully met, make for failure. What we gain is in relation to what we give. The stern demands must be met to the best of our ability; stressing the best and minimizing the flaws; learning to meet surprises and disillusionments with patience, tolerance and resolution; coming to grips with the disagreeable and the deplorable, determined to eradicate them.

Where this is impossible, there must be adjustment to conditions as they are until they can be changed. *C. S. McLachlan.*

Published monthly by the American Federation of Labor at the A. F. of L. Building, Washington 1, D. C. Printed in Washington. Editor—GEORGE MEANY. Managing Editor—BERNARD TASSLER. Subscriptions, \$2 a year in U.S. and Canada. Other rates on application. Entered as second-class matter at Washington and accepted for mailing at special rate of postage provided in Section 1103, Act of Oct. 3, 1917. No paid advertising is ever accepted. Material appearing in this magazine may not be reprinted without prior written permission.



A.
Na
19
he
tio

N
H
of

A
op
La
me
Co
pro

M
leg
for
for
of
al
gr

tie

th
ge

m
in
to
T

F



A. F. of L. President George Meany addresses the National Legislative Council at its first meeting of 1955. Progress can be made in the new Congress, he declared, if labor will fight for liberal legislation. Meeting was at A. F. of L. Building

National Legislative Council Holds Its First Meeting of the New Year

AN ALL-OUT DRIVE to spur enactment of liberal legislation in the new Congress was opened last month by the American Federation of Labor. President George Meany told an overflow meeting of the A. F. of L.'s National Legislative Council that labor can make progress despite the preponderance of conservative lawmakers.

"Even if we don't win immediately," President Meany told the gathering of more than 100 union legislative representatives, "if we put up a good fight for our objectives we will be laying the groundwork for future victory. The whole history of the A. F. of L.'s legislative achievements proves that we've always made progress, even in bad years when Congress was in the complete grip of reactionary forces."

The A. F. of L.'s president said that "the opposition has the votes" in the new Congress.

"But we are going to keep on fighting even though the opposition is tough," he declared. "And we are going to come out with some gains."

Legislative Chairman William C. Hushing and members of his staff reported to the meeting. They indicated that the fight for corrective amendments to the Taft-Hartley Act would be an uphill struggle. The outlook is more encouraging, the assembled



Speaker in photo above is William C. Hushing, chairman of the A. F. of L.'s Legislative Committee. At right, members of the National Legislative Council are listening to Walter Mason, one of the members of Legislative Committee



legislative representatives were informed, for housing legislation, federal aid for school construction and an increase in the minimum wage.

In general, it was reported, the lineup in the Senate appears at this time to be more favorable to labor than in the House of Representatives.



Joint Unity Committee meets again in Washington. At head of table are George Meany and Walter Reuther. On right are seen A. F. of L. Secretary Schnitzler and A. F. of L. vice-presidents who are Unity Committee members

More Progress Is Made on Unity

MERGER of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations into a single labor federation was brought closer January 4 when the Joint Unity Committee met again in Washington.

It was decided to authorize a special subcommittee to draft initial steps toward a unity plan. The subcommittee will meet in Florida on February 8 to put the specific proposals in writing. On the following day the full Unity Committee will meet to pass on the suggestions.

President George Meany of the A. F. of L. and President Walter Reuther of the C.I.O. indicated that the subcommittee would not attempt to draft a master plan but would confine its efforts at this time to solution of several basic matters that have been under discussion.

Mr. Meany told a press conference he did not see any major obstacles to a merger but conceded that some of the "small problems" may take time to solve. Mr. Reuther said the negotiators are not trying to set a "target date" but will seek to settle each point as it arises.

The February conference in Florida will follow the Executive Council meeting which opens February 1.



Arthur Goldberg (left), general counsel of the C.I.O., and David Dubinsky, president of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union and member of A. F. of L. Executive Council, during recess



George Meany and Walter Reuther at the press conference following Joint Unity Committee's meeting. Reporters were told that unity prospects 'are better than they have ever been'

Gazing Into That CRYSTAL BALL

By PETER HENLE

Assistant Director of Research, A. F. of L.

THE coming of the New Year regularly marks the opening of the winter forecasting season, and 1955 has proved no exception to this rule. Cabinet members and business men, as well as run-of-the-mill economists, have each taken a whirl at this popular parlor game.

The game itself is a simple one. It requires only that the player write down a few simple figures concerning the level of business activity, production and employment that he thinks will prevail during the next twelve months. The only equipment necessary is a cloudy crystal ball and a short limb on which to crawl out.

Those who participate actively in this game generally come in several sizes and varieties. One type of eager participant is the Cabinet member whose forecasts (to no one's surprise) generally support his particular political bias. Thus, Secretary of Commerce Sinclair Weeks, in his New Year statement, called the outlook for the coming year "very good." He expects "a moderate upswing in business activity to be reflected in high over-all employment and a rise in the standard of living."

ANOTHER type of forecaster is the business man whose forecast is usually confined to expectations for his particular industry or activity. Automobile company officials guess at how many cars will be produced in 1955, steel executives forecast the steel tonnage and construction experts estimate the total volume of new housing.

Forecasts of this type, however, can prove quite deceiving. When an automobile executive publicly estimates total automobile sales for 1955, his



MR. HENLE

own special interest in a larger market for cars almost forces him to emphasize the brighter side of the picture. Whether or not his forecast is accurate will depend not so much on what he and the rest of the auto industry can do but more upon such other factors as total employment, extent of wage increases, government action on taxes and a host of other considerations.

Another group of forecasters are the economists, many of whom have their own special type of bias. The business economist, generally speaking, is likely to be more optimistic about the future than the academic type. A banking economist is likely to have greater faith in the banking system than a labor economist.

Despite their differences in background and bias, most of the individual forecasters this year seem to be patronizing the same fortune teller. Their predictions are running surprisingly close together. For the most part, the forecasters are betting that

the increase in business activity which began during the last few months of 1954 will continue throughout 1955.

The forecasts for 1955 can be seen in better perspective by examining the figures in the box on Page 6. The table summarizes two major economic indicators, total business activity and industrial production, for the years 1953 and 1954. In addition, it lists certain well-publicized forecasts of economists for 1955.

The table makes clear the fact that both total business activity and industrial production reached a peak in the late spring of 1953. Beginning at that time, our economy suffered a definite recession which continued until the spring of 1954 when business activity became stabilized at this lower level. A slight but definite improvement became noticeable during the last quarter of 1954.

MOST of the forecasts expect a continued improvement throughout 1955. One group of fifty-three economists estimates that total business activity will increase to \$363 billion by June and \$365 billion by December. This group's estimate of industrial production has the index rising to 134 by June and 135 by December. Another group of distinguished economists is somewhat less optimistic, forecasting a rise in activity to \$360 billion for the first half of 1955 and \$363 billion for the second half. This group also forecasts a slight increase in production to an index of 131 for the last half of 1955.

The disturbing aspect of these forecasts is not that they merely project the current trend but that they represent such a limited improvement over

current conditions. For both total business activity and industrial production, these forecasts would leave the 1955 economy well below the levels reached during 1953. In the intervening two years our population has grown by over 5,000,000, so that the 1955 forecasts actually mean a real reduction in living standards for the average American.

This development has particularly ominous implications for American workers. If these forecasts turn out to be correct, unemployment in 1955 will be higher than in the recession year 1954.

Most recent unemployment figures from the Bureau of the Census show 2,800,000 workers listed as unemployed for December. This figure, however, does not include 200,000 additional workers on temporary layoff or awaiting new jobs who, through some strange logic, are not counted as unemployed. Nor does it include approximately 2,500,000 on part-time work who would like full-time employment.

Comparisons show that December unemployment in 1954 was considerably higher than in 1953. Moreover, because unemployment normally rises during the winter months, it is quite likely that the totals for January and February of 1955 will be just as high if not higher than the figure of 3,700,000 recorded in early 1954.

In trying to judge the future unemployment pattern, two factors must be kept in mind:

(1) *Increasing population.* Each year the number of workers entering the labor force is substantially greater than those who leave it by death or retirement. In recent years this net addition to the labor force has averaged about 700,000. For 1955, however, the figure is likely to be substantially higher—approximately 900,000. The chief reason for this is the contemplated reduction in the size of the armed forces, which will send back into civilian life many more young people than will be taken into military service.

(2) *Increasing productivity.* Continuing improvements in technology and the introduction of new equipment, to say nothing of the developing trend toward "automation," all add up to a substantial increase in the nation's productivity. Over the long run, this increase has been estimated

CHANGES IN MAJOR ECONOMIC INDICATORS

	Total Business Activity* [In Billions]	Industrial Production [1947-49=100]
1953		
Jan.-Mar.	\$361.8	134
Apr.-June	369.9	136
July-Sept.	367.2	135
Oct.-Dec.	360.5	129
1954		
Jan.-Mar.	355.8	124
Apr.-June	356.0	124
July-Sept.	355.5	123
Oct.-Dec.	358**	128**
1955 Forecasts by Economists		
First Half	360-363.....	128-134
Second Half	363-365.....	131-135

* Gross national product, seasonally adjusted annual rate.

** A. F. of L. estimate.

Sources: 1953-1954 data from Department of Commerce and Federal Reserve Board; 1955 Forecasts based on "The Business Outlook" by J. A. Livingston, Philadelphia *Bulletin*, December 19, 1954 (forecasts by fifty-three economists) and discussion among sixteen economists held by National Industrial Conference Board, November 9, 1954.

at from 2½ to 3 per cent per year, but for 1954 many observers believe that the rate was far higher.

Normally, this increasing productivity should be welcomed with open arms because it makes possible an increase in the standard of living for everyone. Because more goods can be produced with less effort, improved productivity makes possible higher wages without any increase in prices.

However, if these forecasts for 1955 are correct, higher productivity may only mean more unemployment. The small increase in output forecast for 1955 will require far fewer hours of

work than the number of man-hours liberated by the normal increase in productivity.

This means that despite a larger work force, there will be fewer man-hours of work scheduled during the year. The net result can only mean either a reduction in hours for those who work or a reduction in the number of workers. In either case, there will be an increase in the number unemployed or in the number partially unemployed.

The arithmetic of this discussion of future unemployment looks something like this:

Average Unemployment, Oct.-Dec., 1954 (Census Bureau).....	2,800,000
<i>Estimated Changes in Unemployment During 1955</i>	
ADD	
Increase in Labor Force During 1955.....	900,000
Estimated Number of Workers Displaced by Increasing Productivity (assuming 3 per cent productivity increase).....	1,500,000
SUBTRACT	
Additional Workers Needed to Increase Output to Meet Forecasts....	1,100,000
Average Unemployment, Oct.-Dec., 1955.....	4,100,000

This very rough arithmetic shows an estimated increase in unemployment during 1955 from 2,800,000 to 4,100,000—or 46.4 per cent. These figures bring home this startling conclusion. If these forecasts are correct, business will be expanding at the same time that unemployment will be increasing.

In fact, a number of the forecasters have recognized this problem. None of them has forecast a substantial drop in unemployment, while some of them have actually forecast a rise.

While this unemployment outlook is not very cheerful, it is important to remember that this gloomy arithmetic is all based on the forecasters' prediction that 1955 will see only a limited improvement in business activity. Therein lies a ray of hope, for over the years forecasters have,

perhaps, been more wrong than right.

Students of the American economy are often surprised by its vigor and vitality. Although at this date the forecasters may not be able to see much improvement along the horizon, there may be more bounce in the economy during the coming twelve months than they can visualize.

Moreover, even if the forecasters are correct as of now, there is much that can be done to change this picture.

There are many specific actions, both private and governmental, which can be taken to reduce the currently high and potentially higher level of employment.

At its 1954 convention the American Federation of Labor developed a ten-point comprehensive economic program including such items as more

equitable taxation, a realistic minimum wage, an energetic program of public works, a long-range public housing program and a strengthening of the unemployment compensation system.

While certain aspects of this program have been included in President Eisenhower's State of the Union message, for the most part these recommendations have been ignored or glossed over by the Administration. However, the session of Congress which has just opened has the opportunity to give these matters full consideration.

If the members of Congress give a good, hard look at the economic picture, they will see the necessity for action in many fields so that the economy can move forward more vigorously than the forecasters now predict.

EDWARD P. MORGAN SPEAKS

Edward P. Morgan inaugurated the A. F. of L.'s new nightly program on the coast-to-coast radio network of the American Broadcasting Company by laying down some rules as to how he will handle his job. The new program began January 3. Here is what Mr. Morgan said at the close of his first program:

THIS ASSIGNMENT is to report the news and try to get at its meaning. This is what orators would call a challenge. For the news is everywhere; it never stops happening. And it means many things to many people. Modern methods of communication, including that indispensable Washington utensil, the mimeograph, have tapped such vast veins of information that the stuff has to be measured by the acre and the ton. If all the pieces of information technically available to the public were laid end to end, it wouldn't matter much; we'd never have time to absorb the material.

So the function of a broadcast like this has to be not just to report but to try to select what seems important to report—and attempt to put it in focus, in perspective.

In this connection let it be reported now, for the record, that in the agreements between the American Broad-

casting Company, the American Federation of Labor, the sponsor of the program, and this reporter, in these agreements there is nothing implied or in print, fine or otherwise, about what is to be reported or what is not to be reported, what is to be commented on or what is not to be commented on, or how.

So what do we say? Naturally that will depend on events. The news will come first, and such comments as there are will be reserved for this end-corner. We belong to that

old-fashioned school which holds that, insofar as possible, news and opinion should be separated and clearly labeled.

A microphone is a strange and wonderful instrument, not incapable, now and then, of a certain kind of sorcery on the person talking into it. As a distinguished confederate of mine (on another network) once observed, a fellow who has never thrown

his voice beyond the end of his neighborhood bar suddenly finds himself heard coast to coast, inducing a possible headiness of importance that no bar could supply. This reporter will try not to forget that danger.

He starts this new assignment feeling duly humble but full of enthusiasm, an enthusiasm made no less sharp by the realization that the sponsor is not allergic to the word "liberal." We don't happen to think that label is an obscenity, any more than we believe that conservation was conceived in a cave.

To me the term *liberal* means, mostly, an open mind, questioning, doubtful—but eager to explore without tearing up all the road maps.

There are many routes to an objective, many facts to a story, and this correspondent will do his level best to find them and put them in balance, remembering that the key to the whole combination is one thing—fairness. Even Senators have learned that they can't last long without that.

This is Edward Morgan saying good night from Washington.



MR. MORGAN



MR. BECK

THE 'RIGHT' TO EXPLOIT

By DAVE BECK
President, International Brotherhood of Teamsters

SEVENTEEN states have outlawed union security through so-called "right to work" laws. Hiding behind a deceitful slogan, these laws deprive organized labor of one of its fundamental means of self-protection, the union shop.

State "right to work" laws constitute a menace to the trade union movement. By seeking to weaken and undermine the stability of trade unions, they threaten the wages and working conditions of all union members. They deny to workers the right to protect their own organizations through the establishment of membership requirements. By establishing a compulsory non-union "open shop," they abridge the rights of workers to contract freely with their own employers for union-security clauses.

State "right to work" laws should be more honestly labeled as anti-union laws which turn back the clock of labor relations to the dark ages.

Let us examine this enticing and misleading phrase, the "right to work." Every trade unionist believes in the democratic right to gainful, socially necessary employment for all our citizens. In this sense, then, the only threat to the right to work of American working men and women is the haunting specter of mass unemployment. That is why the American labor movement consistently supports economic and social measures and policies to achieve full employment.

If business groups and others who support "right to work" laws mean

what they say, why do they oppose full employment measures and the guaranteed annual wage? Why do they speak of "widening job opportunities" for non-union members, when unemployment actually has been increasing? Why do they speak of the untrammelled right to work, when employers set age limits on hiring—often as low as 35 and 40—and many other restrictions? Why do they oppose union proposals to ban discrimination in hiring on account of race, religion and sex?

THE SO-CALLED "right to work" laws are not, as one might think, bills to guarantee every worker a job. Can any worker, union or not, walk into a plant or factory, state his right to work and declare himself on the payroll? What rights does a state "right to work" law give an unemployed worker?

The "right to work" which employers have so often been eager to defend for their non-union employees has never in fact existed. Even where union security clauses are prohibited, the non-union employee's right to work for an employer is not enhanced one bit. His hire and tenure still remain a matter of the employer's choice and control.

As Samuel Gompers pointed out fifty years ago in this magazine (February, 1905, Page 75):

"A man who must sell his labor upon such conditions as his employer may determine cannot by any form

be regarded as either free or enjoying liberty."

Every American citizen, under the Constitution of these United States, has the right to work if the work is available and he chooses to take it, and no state law is needed to guarantee a constitutional right. The real guardian of the worker's "right to work" is his own trade union and his fellow unionists throughout the country.

The right to work can be made effective only by organized action by the workers themselves, acting through their unions. The union helps the individual employee to achieve, through collective action, a degree of equality of bargaining power when dealing with his employer. If the right to work is given its full meaning, that is, the right to work at a fair wage and under conditions attained through joint action of workers, then union security protects the worker's right to work without discrimination because of union membership.

This is why, under the guise of protecting the individual worker, state "right to work" laws ban union security so as to weaken unions and make them ineffective. They leave the employer free to hire as many non-union workers as he pleases. It requires little imagination to see how pointless collective bargaining could become under such laws.

Those opposed to union security fundamentally have not accepted col-

lective bargaining as a desirable part of the democratic process. They have not accepted the fact that strong unions are good, desirable and constructive forces in our society. They overlook or ignore the fact that union security provides stability to labor relations—which was the primary objective of Congress in enacting the Wagner and Taft-Hartley Acts.

Union security—the union shop—is a tangible symbol that management accepts the union. The union shop allows the employer full freedom to hire whom he will, but new employes who are not members of the union must join within a specified period—normally, thirty days. Countless studies of industrial relations have shown that such acceptance is one of the causes of industrial peace under collective bargaining.*

Those who oppose any form of union security do so very often in the name of democracy. It is undemocratic, they say, to require anyone to join a union. This sounds good—but it simply does not make sense.

MAJORITY rule is in the American democratic tradition. It has made America strong and progressive. The union shop is an extension of this American precept of democracy. Our nation works for the common good of all. Since the union also works for the common good of all within a plant, it is only fair that all should become members.

Without security of the union, individual security always is threatened. Only a strong union can adequately protect its members, and only a strong union which has the backing of all employees in the unit can bargain effectively for better wages and better working conditions.

American workers want and like the union shop because it is democratic majority rule in practice. In over 46,000 NLRB-conducted elections on union shop authorization, the union shop was authorized in 97.1 per cent of the cases, and 91.4 per cent of the voters voted in favor of the union shop. These polls clearly indicate how strongly workers favor the union shop.

Moreover, not every employer opposes union security. The union shop, by assuring the union of the employer's acceptance of the union, creates

better labor relations within the plant. It enables the union to better uphold its part of the contract. With its security assured, the union is free to cooperate constructively with the employer in securing greater efficiency and higher productivity. That employers recognize these advantages is shown by a 1952 Bureau of Labor Statistics study of 1,653 collective bargaining agreements in a wide variety of industries which showed that three-quarters had a union security clause and 63 per cent had union shop clauses.

When proponents of state "right to work" proposals talk of individual freedom in relation to the union shop, they advocate the right of the "free rider to accept all the benefits the union wins without sharing the responsibilities and burdens.

Under the Taft-Hartley Act a union which is freely selected through secret ballot by a majority of employees in any unit is obligated by law to bargain for and to represent all of the employees, whether or not they are members. Just as every worker pays taxes for the services he gets in the community, he ought to pay taxes, through his union membership, for the benefits and services which the union obtains and provides in the industrial plant. No man or woman is entitled to benefit from the work of trade unions without acceptance of the obligations of trade union membership.

The free rider is no novelty in this world. But he should be recognized for what he is—a tax-dodger. This is the man anti-unionists want to protect in his anti-democratic "right to shirk" his duties.

This does not mean union monopoly. Only a union which has been selected by a majority of the employees is permitted by law to negotiate for a union shop provision.

State "right to work" laws impose greater restrictions on the activities of labor unions than our national labor policy. This precedence of restrictive state law over a federal act has no parallel in any other field.

Usually, the states may not pass laws which conflict with any federal law regulating interstate commerce. In brief, the federal power to regulate commerce and thereby labor relations affecting commerce is supreme, that is, paramount to that of the states.

But the Taft-Hartley Act, in Section 14(b), not only permits but *encourages* states to destroy union security by the enactment of "right to work" laws—even though union shops are permitted under another section of Taft-Hartley (Section 8(a)(3)). Section 14(b) not only runs counter to the entire concept of a national labor relations policy but it shows that the over-all design of Taft-Hartley was to saddle unions with the most restrictive union security provision that could be found, to the detriment of the welfare of wage-earners and of the public interest.

The possibility of forty-eight separate and conflicting state laws on union security, resulting from Section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act, creates serious practical difficulties in collective bargaining. Undoubtedly, this is what advocates of anti-union "right to work" laws desire.

AGREEMENTS in the trucking industry are often negotiated on a multi-state or regional basis, with one master agreement regulating the rates of pay, rules and working conditions of employees in many states. The duties of many employees require the constant crossing of state lines. Under the present law the parties to the contract cannot write a single clause establishing the union security arrangements to cover all workers in these different states.

Many individual trucking firms operate across state lines. Because the permissible union-security arrangements vary from state to state, a firm dealing with the same union representing workers doing the same work negotiates a union-security provision with the union in one state and in the other state is prohibited from doing so. Yet it is generally recognized that good personnel practice requires uniformity in matters of labor relations.

Former Governor Alf M. Landon emphasized this objection, among others, when he urged defeat of a



*National Planning Association, "Causes of Industrial Peace Under Collective Bargaining," *Fundamentals of Labor Peace* (1953).

"right to work" proposal in Kansas:

"I am of the opinion that legislation of this type might be something of a barrier to large industries considering Kansas for branch plants. Many corporations desire to settle their labor problems with a well-organized, stable union. And most of them desire to do it on a nationwide basis where the negotiations can all be conducted at one time and place. The proposed 'right to work' bill would, of course, bar that where the plants are located in Kansas."

Unlike the Taft-Hartley Act, the Railway Labor Act permits union-security agreements in the railroad and airline industries regardless of state laws to the contrary. If the result is desirable in the railroad industry, surely it is equally appropriate for the trucking industry and for other industries affecting interstate commerce.

IT IS no coincidence that "right to work" laws have been enacted primarily in the South and in other non-industrial states where unions have never been strong and where there is greater need for union security. It is no coincidence that these are the low-wage states and that they are among the lowest in terms of per capita income. It is no coincidence that these states are trying to attract New England industry by emphasizing that their workers are "protected" by "right to work" laws.

What they really mean is that they are offering a competitive advantage over the well-established industrial states in the form of non-union, low-wage labor. As a result, states are competing with one another in adopting labor relations laws most favorable to employers in the effort to attract industry. These are the basic factors behind the anti-union "right to work" laws, rather than pretended concern for "states' rights" or the freedom of individuals in their "right to work."

Clergymen of all faiths, to an unprecedented degree, have underscored the inherent deceit and immorality of these misnamed "right to work" laws. The clergy have categorically opposed their adoption and urged their repeal. They have stressed that such laws actually limit the legal and moral rights of workers for the special advantage of others. They have affirmed that workers have a right to

organize and a social responsibility to join unions and to maintain the kind of organization that is necessary and most effective in securing their welfare.

The Rev. William J. Kelley of Catholic University, Washington, D. C., who for more than ten years was chairman of the New York State Labor Relations Board, states that union-security provisions "are proper moral matter for collective bargaining contracts"; that the objectives of "right to work" legislation "conflict with social morality"; and that "'right to work' laws take away from man a necessary means to achieve and protect his God-given right of association."

Archbishop Rummel of New Orleans has described the Louisiana "right to work" statute as follows:

"It is insincere because while it pretends to guarantee the right to work, it actually frustrates that right, in effect exposing labor to the loss of security, a decent standard of living and humane working conditions. It makes a mockery of the constitutional right to organize for the common good and welfare. It invites continuing and recurring social strife and discontent. In a word, it is unfair and unsocial class legislation contrary to the common good."

Rabbi Israel Goldstein, president of the American Jewish Congress, has condemned such laws because they "seek the destruction of the trade union movement, the abrogation of democratic rights which it has taken decades to secure and the undermining of one of the strongest pillars of American democracy. They do so by outlawing union-security arrangements which enable trade unions to enlist the widest moral and financial support for their policies, thus in-

creasing their collective bargaining strength."

Rabbi Goldstein also stated:

"I know that the term 'right to work' in these statutes is a fraud and a misnomer to conceal their true purpose."

Secretary of Labor James P. Mitchell has attacked the so-called "right to work" laws on three specific counts:

"They do not create any jobs at all.

"The result is undesirable and unnecessary limitations upon the freedom of working men and women and their employers to bargain collectively and agree upon conditions of work.

"They restrict union security and thereby undermine the basic strength of labor organizations."

Unions are not imposed upon workers by an outside force. They grow out of their own needs, their hopes and aspirations for greater human dignity, a higher economic status and independence from employer domination.

Union security is in the social interest. Without it, no union can be expected to accept the responsibility for labor relations and for contract observance which our society must demand of a successful union movement.

When clergy of all faiths condemn these "right to work" laws as immoral—a term which no man of God uses lightly—we feel strengthened in our conviction that these anti-union security laws must be repealed in the seventeen states where they now exist and must be defeated in other states in which they are being proposed.

Until the Taft-Hartley Act is amended to permit U.S. law again to take precedence over state law in the crucial labor relations field, American unions are faced with a formidable block to their future growth.

What does atomic energy mean to labor?

Should engineers belong to unions?

Labor in Spain—what are the facts?

THE AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST for March will give you the answers to these questions—and to many others. We believe that our next issue will be one of the most interesting ones we have ever published. Labor's magazine will present a long list of authoritative, significant articles. *Don't miss the next issue!*

Auditing Program Is Launched

By **WILLIAM F. SCHNITZLER**

Secretary-Treasurer, American Federation of Labor

WITH the beginning of the new year, the American Federation of Labor has launched a program under which auditors working out of A. F. of L. headquarters will regularly audit the books, accounts, records and financial transactions of all local trade and federal labor unions. The new program got under way Monday, January 3.

The Auditing Department has been established in order to carry out the mandate of our last convention. John J. Lorden, who has been on the organizing staff of the American Federation of Labor for the past seventeen years, has been appointed as Department director. Auditors have been placed on the staff. These men, thoroughly trained in federal labor union practices, are now at work in the several districts.

The Los Angeles convention held last September directed that the following section be made part of the A. F. of L.'s constitution under Article VII:

"The Secretary-Treasurer shall be required, with the assistance of an auditing department or otherwise, to make an annual audit of all books, accounts, records and financial transactions, including any welfare, retirement or other beneficial plan, of all local trade or federal labor unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and may make such audit at more frequent intervals at his discretion. Officers and representatives of local trade or federal labor unions having the same shall be required to turn over to the Secretary-Treasurer or his duly authorized representative all books, records, accounts and information necessary to make any such audit.

"If such audit reveals that any financial irregularities have taken place, or that any local trade or federal labor union has more members than it is paying per capita tax upon, then the President shall be authorized to take appropriate proceedings under Section 6, Article VI, to discipline for or remedy the same."

It is most important that all officers



SECRETARY SCHNITZLER

and members of our federal labor unions understand clearly that this provision was adopted by the Los Angeles convention solely for the purpose of protecting all our federal labor union officers and members. The action of the convention, which became effective with the beginning of 1955, is in no way to be construed as a reflection upon the integrity of any federal labor union officer.

When the convention delegates adopted this provision at the Los Angeles convention, it was with the thought that the inauguration of an auditing program would be a most desirable step and wholly in keeping with the best modern practices.

As President George Meany has frequently pointed out, the fundamental purpose of the trade union movement is to protect the interests of the members of unions. That was the reason for the original formation of unions, and that is still the reason for our existence. The interests of the members must be protected at all times. No one who understands the philosophy and the principles of our movement has any doubts on this point.

The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor felt that a provision like the one which was sub-

sequently adopted by the Los Angeles convention would be most valuable in this direction, serving as a protection for all of our federal labor union officers and members. When the subject came before the convention, there was careful consideration of the auditing proposal, and then the delegates voted to insert the new provision in the constitution.

In conformity with the new requirements of the constitution in regard to auditing, the officers of all federal labor unions are to turn over to the A. F. of L.'s auditors all books, records, accounts and information necessary to the making of complete audits of the federal labor unions' funds and assets. The auditors are authorized representatives of the A. F. of L. Secretary-Treasurer's office.

We know that the officers of our directly affiliated local trade and federal labor unions in every region will give the maximum cooperation to Brother Lorden and his associates as they proceed with their important duties under this new A. F. of L. program. We are certain that the auditing program which we have just launched is another very significant and worthwhile step in the A. F. of L.'s efforts to modernize and improve constantly the services given to the working men and women who make up our American trade union movement.

Disciplinary Powers

The section of the American Federation of Labor constitution pertaining to auditing refers to the disciplinary powers of the President under Section 6, Article VI. The latter section reads in part as follows:

"The President shall be authorized and empowered to discipline State Federations of Labor, city central labor unions, and local and federal labor unions, including authority to suspend and/or expel any officer or member thereof, and/or to suspend and/or revoke their charter, subject first to an appeal to the Executive Council and thereafter to the next regular convention immediately following."

Unionism in RETAILING *Is Gaining Strength*

By JAMES A. SUFFRIDGE and VERNON A. HOUSEWRIGHT



MR. SUFFRIDGE



MR. HOUSEWRIGHT

THERE'S a good genie in the midst of the country's retail store employees. It is the Retail Clerks International Association which, since 1944, has more than tripled its membership (a gain of 330 per cent, to be exact). Better wages, better working conditions and increased job security have been brought to hundreds of thousands of retail employees; and the Retail Clerks International Association did not have to "bleed itself white" to achieve this record, for the R.C.I.A.'s treasury is now more than five times stronger than in 1944.

Although final membership figures for 1954 are not yet available, preliminary data show that substantial or-

ganizing gains will be recorded for the period. Thus, 1954 will go down in the books as the eleventh consecutive year that membership figures have climbed higher and higher.

The Retail Clerks' membership advances have not been spectacular. Rather, they have been the solid kind that derives from the expansion and the steady growth of established local unions and the normal addition of new ones.

The year 1954 saw a surprising increase in collective bargaining interest in Canada, Alaska, the Hawaiian Islands and various areas of the Continental United States. A new local was chartered at Fairbanks, Alaska, during the year, thereby adding strength to those already established at Sitka, Ketchikan and Anchorage. In Canada, Edmonton, Fort William and Port Arthur received charters. Among those in the United States were several in New York City and

vicinity and elsewhere in New York State, Amarillo and Port Arthur in Texas, Dubuque in Iowa, Colorado Springs, Los Angeles and several scattered through Illinois, Wisconsin, Michigan and Missouri.

Even with such a record of enviable accomplishment, the Retail Clerks International Association will never be content to rest on past laurels. The driving spirit that has carried our union from almost a non-entity in the American Federation of Labor family to the A. F. of L.'s ninth largest affiliate will continue to be the spirit of the future rather than a specter of the past.

During 1954 the greatest gains were made in the food industry. Most of the country's major food chains—as well as many large independents—are virtually organized. This is true because during the R.C.I.A.'s early years greater emphasis was placed on organizing food store employees than

Mr. Suffridge is secretary-treasurer of the Retail Clerks International Association. Mr. Housewright is president of the same union.

in other areas of the jurisdiction; hence, food stores are more highly organized than are other stores.

In recent years, however, it has been a policy to organize *all* segments of the jurisdiction. As a result, more and more people in the textile, drug, automobile and automobile accessory, hardware and lumber, specialty shops, variety and related fields have been organized than ever before.

In new and reopened contracts, R.C.I.A.'s negotiators were successful in 1954 in averaging wage increases of five to ten cents per hour and reducing the workweek until there is almost a national pattern of forty hours straight time. In some of the larger metropolitan department stores the workweek has been cut to thirty-seven or thirty-seven and one-half hours per week.

Health and welfare programs have been emphasized in the fringe benefit areas of contracts, and there are now few places where some form of health and welfare does not obtain.

WHILE 1954 will go down in American economic history as the "year of merger" in the basic, heavy industries, this type of operation has been well advanced in the retail community for years. Mergers started with the variety chains, spread to food and more recently the amalgamation movement has been growing by leaps and bounds in department stores, specialty shops and mail order houses. Combinations have been accomplished through merger or outright purchase, and as the retail chains grow so do the problems of organizing the retail workers.

To cope with this situation, the Retail Clerks International Association called in a National Chain Store Committee, made up of thirty-five representatives from the union's seven organizing divisions, divisional organizing directors and members of the General Executive Board. Out of this conference came several decisions of national importance.

It was decided to request the enactment of federal legislation to require



Stores selling food are more highly organized than are other stores

that the name of the actual owner of a store appear alongside or in conjunction with the trade name of the store and other operations for the sole purpose of identity. It is just as essential for the housewife to know with whom she is spending union-earned money as it is for her to know whether the peaches she buys are in heavy, medium or light syrup. It is a simple matter of labeling so that one may know "what is inside the can."

Another matter considered at the conference was the proposal of Secre-

tary of Labor Mitchell to extend the minimum wage requirements of the Fair Labor Standards Act to retailers. They are now exempt. This places retail employes in the stigmatized position of "second-class citizens." Arrayed against this proposal are the large retailers and their associations.

The American Retail Federation—backed by such giants as R. H. Macy and Company—has already announced the building of a war chest of \$50,000 to \$100,000 to fight



The union has made excellent gains in department stores and specialty shops

such legislation. It is well known that many of the Administration's advisers and some Cabinet members are wholly opposed to Secretary Mitchell's minimum wage suggestion.

The Retail Clerks intend to publicize the retail industry's tactics to the employees with the aim of exerting sufficient pressure to do away with the inequitable minimum wage exemption in retailing.

The rising pressure by chambers of commerce, retail associations and other big business groups on state legislatures to enact so-called "right to work" laws was also discussed at the R.C.I.A. conference. It was the feeling that everything possible should be done to discourage any state from passing such union-busting legislation and to work untiringly for the repeal of such laws where they now exist.

The National Labor Relations Board came in for its share of criticism, too. The new policy which removes many retail stores from Board jurisdiction was denounced. Continuation of this reactionary policy by the NLRB cannot help but promote a wave of strikes and labor-management strife throughout the country.

Since union recognition and negotiations must be developed largely on a store-by-store basis, the NLRB's new interpretation of "commerce" is particularly severe. It leaves many store employees who desire union representation in a No Man's Land where neither state law (or the lack of it) nor the federal statutes apply. This leaves these working people at the mercy of unscrupulous employers who can dissipate new organization before recognition can be gained.

All these employer-made or legalized roadblocks to organization of retail store employees have an adverse effect on the national economy. Of the nation's recognized labor force, every eighth person is in some manner connected with retailing. While many of these are owners, the great majority are employees in the selling and servicing category. If most of these employees were organized and their wages raised to a decent standard, the purchasing power of the country as a whole would be strengthened enormously.

The R.C.I.A. has said time and again that the retail store employee is one of the most vital cogs in our na-

tional well-being. This opinion is shared by such men as Roger Babson, the economist. Not long ago he said that "the most important people * * * will be those now employed as salesmen, and especially the sales clerks in your stores." He added: "These people have become the most important factor in selling."

Babson told of his father's experience in clerking in which he always emphasized the human, friendly approach and personal acquaintance with customers. "Sales are made through feelings rather than through figures," Babson declared.

That the Retail Clerks International Association and Roger Babson are pretty much right is disclosed by the fact that retailing is the country's largest single industry, dollar-wise; and it is the retail store workers who



are expected to keep the dollar turnover rolling higher and higher. The year-end figures for 1954 indicated that it was the second best if not the best in American retail history. Here

are the dollar facts: Automobile dealers did \$31.3 billion in 1954; hardware stores, \$10.1 billion; furniture and appliance stores, \$9.1 billion; food stores, \$41.4 billion; general merchandise stores, \$18.8 billion; clothing stores, \$10 billion; and drug stores, \$5 billion.

Retailing is a multi-billion-dollar business. The Retail Clerks International Association serves multi-thousands of retail store employees and expects in 1955 to continue to grow—more than it did in 1954. Our union is confident that, in another ten years or so, another 330 per cent increase in membership may be reported to the American Federation of Labor.

It Is Not 'Socialism'

By WILLIAM A. CALVIN

President, International Brotherhood of Boilermakers, Iron Ship Builders, Blacksmiths, Forgers and Helpers

VERY few wage-earners are in a position today to finance a prolonged period of hospitalization, a major operation, slow convalescence, costly medicines and drugs. Illness bears an accompanying anxiety about how the unexpected bills are going to be paid.



MR. CALVIN

It is not surprising that American workers have embraced the opportunity to escape the age-old enemy—fear of insecurity—which would be provided by the enactment of national health insurance as advocated by labor.

Most of our citizens are neither extremely wealthy nor abjectly impoverished. Between the extremities of lavish wealth and actual want are the predominant millions who make up a tremendous majority of our citizenry. Most of these people have jobs, incomes and self-respect. They

subscribe to the belief that in a land such as ours, blessed by nature and under such laws, institutions and government as we have, every family should be self-sustaining. But they still cannot afford sickness.

"The science of medicine belongs to the medical profession. The delivery of medical care belongs fully as much to the recipients of medical care as to the medical profession."

This statement was made by Dr. Channing Frothingham, a distinguished member of the medical profession.

National health insurance, instead of "socializing" medicine, as its opponents allege, would make medical service available to all of the people, many thousands of whom are in need of professional medical care but defer getting the services of a physician because of the expense involved.

National health insurance would provide a dignified means of assuring patients necessary medical attention and assuring physicians and hospitals of prompt payment for their services.

'Right to Work' Laws Can Be *REPEALED*

By **GENE DERRICKSON**

*Secretary, Central Labor Union,
Wilmington, Delaware*

LEADERS of the labor movement in the seventeen states now suffering under the yoke of so-called "right to work" laws should take heart from our successful fight for repeal in Delaware. "Right to work" laws *can* be repealed. The labor movement in Delaware did it. In 1947 we had a "right to work" law rammed down our throats. In 1949 we repealed it.

Delaware's "right to work" law passed in the early morning of the last hours of the 1947 session of the General Assembly. Legislators who voted for the bill were prodded by a notoriously anti-labor Governor and by anti-labor state Republican leaders.

In Delaware it takes nine affirmative Senate votes to enact a law. When the "right to work" proposal, which became infamously known as "House Bill 212," came up for passage in the Senate around four o'clock in the morning, only eight Republican Senators were on hand to vote.

Party leaders quickly rounded up a ninth Senator. He was led in and took his seat in the chamber just long enough to vote "aye" for the misnamed "right to work" bill.

Thus was the anti-labor measure passed. Labor was forced to stand by for the moment. Trade unionists watched this cruel travesty in bitter silence.

House Bill 212 was vicious. It contained all the worst features of all other state anti-labor laws.

Delaware's "right to work" law barred the union shop. It barred all forms of the dues check-off. It required that local union elections be handled by outside non-members. Employers were allowed to attend certain union meetings and have the floor. Ceilings were prescribed on dues and initiation fees. Interference

with the internal affairs of local unions ran through the entire law.

It is worthy of notice that the measure was written and lobbied through the General Assembly by the contractors and builders' association.

The following year, 1948, the Democratic Party in Delaware, in its pre-election campaigning, pledged repeal of House Bill 212. This became the big state issue of the campaign. Thousands of citizens outside the ranks of labor backed our call for repeal when they saw the shockingly repressive features of the "right to work" law.

The Democrats elected their candidates for Governor and Lieutenant Governor. They came within one vote of controlling the House and the Senate in the General Assembly. In this election Delaware labor had turned out as never before. We had succeeded in registering thousands of people and in seeing to it that they went to the polls on Election Day.

THE Democratic Party kept its pledges to organized labor. Every Democrat in the General Assembly in 1949 voted for repeal of the "right to work" law. The labor movement was also able to persuade one Republican member in each house to support a repeal bill. This meant we had a majority of one in each house for repeal.

Even though we had a majority for repeal, the bill still had a big hurdle to climb over. The repealer passed the House. In the Senate, however, it was tossed aside by the Labor Committee in a move to keep the bill from coming up for a vote. It then became necessary to take the drastic step of petitioning to pull the bill out of the Labor Committee.

Labor's enemies still had not run out of tricks. The committee chairman stalked out of the Senate cham-

ber with the original copy of the repeal bill in his pocket. He flatly refused to return. This was, of course, a gross violation of his oath of office and of the state constitution.

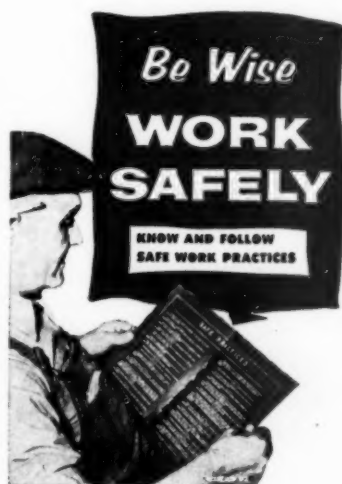
The Senate could do nothing for three days. The pro-labor, pro-repeal Lieutenant Governor, the presiding officer, rightly insisted that the repeal of House Bill 212 was and could be the only business before the Senate. The original copy of the repeal measure was never returned. But near the end of the third day a duplicate copy of the repealer was given to the Senate. The bill was passed and sent to the Governor, who promptly signed it into law.

Thus ended Delaware's experiment with a so-called "right to work" law. It had been on the statute books less than two years. During that time the unity and the total resistance of the labor movement had deterred a state administration hostile to trade unionism from carrying out the law's vicious anti-union provisions.

Delaware labor, led by the American Federation of Labor, took its case against House Bill 212 directly to the people. Political education got our people out to register and vote. Political education made people outside the labor movement—including those in the rural area of downstate Delaware—see and understand the unfairness of the so-called "right to work" legislation.

Delaware labor used no magic wand in its campaign for repeal, but it did use lots of hard work.

What we accomplished can also be done in other states. But it does take a great deal of very hard work.



Editorial

By GEORGE MEANY

The President's Program

OF NECESSITY, the President's State of the Union message delivered to the new Eighty-fourth Congress shortly after it convened was general in nature because of the broad scope it covered. The details of his program will not be spelled out until a number of special messages dealing with specific problems are submitted in the next few weeks. However, it is clear already where the Eisenhower Administration will measure up to the nation's needs and where it is likely to fall flat.

On foreign policy the President took a positive stand. He is determined to build up the nation's military strength to the point where the Communist conspiracy will be deterred from instigating any new aggression. While this road leads to a world stalemate, it is the only course that will enable America and the free world to lead from strength in prevailing upon Soviet Russia to keep the peace and to consider eventual disarmament.

Likewise, the President should be praised for urging wider international trade among the nations of the free world, a program vital to the economic health of our own country as well as our allies.

In seeking bi-partisan support and cooperation in these programs, the President was on sound ground. The Democratic leaders of the new Congress already have expressed their willingness to work in harmony with the Administration on constructive programs to safeguard world peace and fortify the national defense.

It would be gratifying to report that the President, in his State of the Union message, gave evidence of equal foresight and wisdom in dealing with domestic problems. Unfortunately, he did not. He showed, on the other hand, a strange re-

luctance to disturb the status quo. His few recommendations for improving the American way of life were timid and puny.

Specifically, the President lightly dismissed the unemployment problem, which is a very real threat to millions of American workers. He stated that "the economic outlook is good," but he completely ignored the warnings of leading economists that unemployment is likely to climb again in the months ahead. In fact, he sought to convey the impression that the serious unemployment of the past year was confined merely to certain industries and localities. Thus, he remarked that "these problems are engaging our most earnest attention" and let it go at that. Conspicuously absent was any affirmative program to provide new job opportunities.

It is deplorable, but understandable, when an Administration attempts to gloss over unemployment during a political campaign. But to ignore such unhealthy economic conditions as a fixed policy is downright dangerous.

Labor is also deeply disappointed in the President's casual approach to the serious question of amending the Taft-Hartley Act to make it fair and just to workers and employers alike. The President, in his message, merely gave a single paragraph to this subject. He went through the motions of "renewing" his last year's unavailing recommendation for amending the law. He mentioned this time only two amendments—one to restore the right of economic strikers to vote in representation elections and the other to require employers as well as union officials to sign non-Communist affidavits. The latter amendment is trifling. The first is important, but the President made the same pledge during his 1952 campaign to the American Federation of Labor convention in New York City and then failed to carry it out. Startling because of its omission was the Presi-

dent's failure to come to grips with the basic problem of repealing Section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act which not only permits but encourages states to destroy union security by enactment of the misnamed "right to work" laws.

The President's proposal for increasing the minimum wage to 90 cents an hour falls short of economic realities and the needs of low-income workers and their families. His recommendations on health needs are likewise insufficient to cope with the problem.

Inadequate also is the recommendation for constructing 35,000 public housing units in each of the next two fiscal years.

In these respects the President's message lacked the vision, the dynamism and the boldness which the American people have the right to expect from their leaders in government. Obviously, the President in his anxiety to remain in the middle of the road has forgotten that roads are meant for movement, not stagnation.

Get Busy on Schools

AT LAST there are indications that official Washington is shaking off its habitual lethargy and is moving toward action to relieve the alarming nationwide school shortage.

Among the first bills dropped into the hopper when the Eighty-fourth Congress convened were measures authorizing federal funds to spur an emergency school construction program. Bi-partisan support was indicated when identical measures were sponsored in the House by Representative Cleveland M. Bailey (Democrat, West Virginia), new chairman of the House Education Committee, and Representative Carroll D. Kearns

(Republican, Pennsylvania), former chairman of a subcommittee that studied the problem. The bills contain no money figure, simply authorizing appropriation of as much money as needed to match school-building appropriations by states over a six-year period.

It is expected that a firmer and more effective bill will emerge from the slower processes of the Senate, where sentiment is even stronger for action to meet educational problems. Senator Lister Hill (Democrat, Alabama) has announced he will press for prompt action.

Until now the White House has erected insuperable obstacles against an adequate program for federal aid to education. The Administration's position all during last year was to delay action until the problem is considered at a federal-state conference on educational needs scheduled for next November. But in his State of the Union message the President revealed a possible change in Administration policy on this issue. He said "positive, affirmative action must be taken now." He promised to submit a program to Congress in a special message on February 15.

Regardless of whether the White House is ready to face up to the realities of the situation or whether it is merely contemplating another delaying maneuver, it is the responsibility of Congress to move ahead with an effective federal aid to education program.

The children of our nation are its greatest asset. It is our first duty to provide them with decent, safe schools and with high-caliber teachers who are given improved pay and working standards commensurate with the importance of their calling. Any further neglect of our deteriorating educational system would be a gross subversion of the American way of life.

FROM THE LIPS OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN

Inasmuch as most good things are produced by labor, it follows that all such things of right belong to those whose labor has produced them. But it has so happened, in all ages of the world, that some have labored and others have, without labor, enjoyed a large proportion of the fruits. This is wrong and should not continue. To secure to each laborer the whole product of his labor, or as nearly as possi-

ble, is a worthy object of any good government.—1847.

Labor is the great source from which nearly all, if not all, human comforts and necessities are drawn.—1859.

I am glad to see that a system of labor prevails in New England under which laborers can strike when they

want to.—1860.

The workingmen are the basis of all government, for the plain reason that they are the most numerous.—1861.

The strongest bond of human sympathy, outside of the family relation, should be one uniting all working people, of all nations and tongues and kindred.—1864.

Joseph A. Mullaney

["Mr. Asbestos"]

By C. W. SICKLES

President, International Association of Heat and Frost Insulators and Asbestos Workers

A VOID has been left in the ranks of organized labor as a result of the death of General President Joseph A. Mullaney of the International Association of Heat and Frost Insulators and Asbestos Workers. Brother Mullaney, one of the real old stalwarts of the American labor movement, passed away on December 25 at the home of his son Edward in Flushing, Long Island, New York, after an illness which had kept him in confinement for nearly two years. He was 82.

Joseph Mullaney was born in New York City on June 11, 1872. In March of 1888 he started work as an apprentice asbestos worker at the Asbestos Felting Works. He immediately joined the local union, which at that time went under the title of the Salamander Association of Boiler and Pipe Coverers. In 1902 he became business agent of that union, and he continued in that office until 1912. At that time Joseph Mullaney was elected by convention action in New York City as general president of the International Association of Heat and Frost Insulators and Asbestos Workers.

The old Salamander Association of New York City and other independent locals throughout the country had formed the international union during the period that Brother Mullaney was the business agent of his local in the metropolis. The new international union left the old Knights of Labor and joined the American Federation of Labor, subsequently doing its share of work in the building of the A. F. of L.

Onward from 1912, convention after convention, President Mullaney was elected to succeed himself. Over the years, through his able guidance, the Asbestos Workers grew in membership and in standing within the



JOSEPH A. MULLANEY

labor movement and the building industry. The Asbestos Workers' individual membership conditions of employment came to be recognized by everyone in the building industry as second to none.

In 1937 the delegates to the convention of the International Association of Heat and Frost Insulators and Asbestos Workers—in recognition of President Mullaney's untiring efforts and splendid accomplishments—unanimously elected him to a life term as president. He accepted this signal honor reluctantly and only after quoting Scripture on man's allotted time on earth (threescore and ten). As he felt that he was then in the twilight of his life, President Mullaney considered that, at best, he would be privileged to enjoy this special honor for only a short time.

It was shortly after his first election as president of the Asbestos Workers at the 1912 convention that Brother Mullaney was elected as a

vice-president of the New York State Federation of Labor. And he remained a vice-president of the State Federation of Labor until his death. Many years ago Brother Mullaney had advanced to the first vice-presidency. For over a score of years he was chairman of the Resolutions Committee of the New York State Federation of Labor, and in this position he did much to promote the legislative programs as adopted by the annual conventions. A goodly portion of these legislative proposals on behalf of all the working people of New York State was enacted into law by the State Legislature.

Three times President Mullaney declined an automatic promotion to the presidency of the New York State Federation of Labor under the constitution of that organization. The constitution then provided that the first vice-president would automatically fill any vacancy arising in the office of president between conventions. After he had declined the presidency three times, Brother Mullaney introduced an amendment to change the constitution of the State Federation of Labor.

In refusing to become president of the New York State Federation of Labor, he not only gave up the opportunity of being nearer his home, with a minimum of traveling, but also what would have meant a substantial increase in salary. Joseph Mullaney always felt that he owed his all to the Asbestos Workers. He wanted to remain an asbestos worker as long as he lived and, in his own words, if there was anything in the theory of reincarnation and he were given any choice, he would on returning designate for himself another lifetime as an asbestos worker.

Many indeed were the important accomplishments of President Mul-

laney on behalf of the membership of the Asbestos Workers and other building trades. These gave him a deep sense of satisfaction. But this writer, who was privileged to be close to President Mullaney for many years, believes that the one achievement of his life which gave him the greatest personal satisfaction was the part he played as campaign manager for George Meany in the latter's first campaign and election as the president of the New York State Federation of Labor. That was back in 1934. Later, of course, George Meany was to become the secretary-treasurer and then the president of the American Federation of Labor.

Joseph Mullaney knew and admired George Meany as a father would an only son, and many years prior to 1934, as business agent for Local 12 of the Asbestos Workers, he had worked shoulder to shoulder on many occasions with President Meany's father, who at that time was business agent for the Plumbers' Union in New York City.

Space does not permit a recital of many other interesting episodes and significant accomplishments of Joseph Mullaney.

He spent a lifetime in connection with one industry, and he was one of the great trade unionists of the old school—one of the pioneers of our

American labor movement. At the time of his death Brother Mullaney had completed sixty-six years as an asbestos worker and a faithful trade unionist.

The passing of President Mullaney has left a void in the ranks of organized labor in general and of the Asbestos Workers in particular. No one could possibly expect to see that void filled by any one individual. All that can be done by those he leaves behind is to carry on and do their best to perform the duties that befall them, keeping in mind always President Mullaney's philosophy and teachings. In so doing they can make no mistake.

Fire Fighters Enter the War Against Muscular Dystrophy

By **JOHN P. REDMOND**
President, International Association of Fire Fighters

NOW that the campaign for funds for the Muscular Dystrophy Associations of America is over, the story can be told. The Fire Fighters' participation in this drive for funds was motivated by a humane desire to see if a cure for muscular dystrophy could be found and hope extended to the victims who must otherwise die, as no cure for this dread disease exists at this time. With more funds available, more research foundations and more chapters can be established so those who are afflicted can be in direct contact with clinics, and personal attention can be given to each individual case.

To organize a drive of this magnitude, a great deal of prior consideration must be given to the plans and to the timing when those plans unfold so that the greatest cooperation of all participants will be brought to bear on the final results.

At the outset of this campaign we were aware that the Muscular Dystrophy Associations of America were a comparatively new organization.

President Redmond climbed a tall ladder to deliver material on the campaign to editor of a daily newspaper in Washington

We also knew of the Letter Carriers' great national campaign in 1953. The Letter Carriers had done a tremendous job in collecting \$3,500,000. They were fortunate in having Dean Martin and Jerry Lewis of film and television fame make a national appeal through a national telecast which lasted one whole evening.

The first contact of the International Association of Fire Fighters

with the Muscular Dystrophy Associations' representatives led us to believe that all we would have to do would be to collect the envelopes on the date designated by the M.D.A. This plan was submitted to the Executive Board of the International Association of Fire Fighters. The Board approved of the plan with instructions that it be presented to the delegates to our biennial (Continued on Page 31)



The People of America Want SECURITY WITHOUT INJUSTICE

By JAMES A. CAMPBELL
President, American Federation of Government Employees

HAS the security program of the federal government succeeded in preventing the employment of undesirables? Has it, at the same time, protected loyal government employes against smears and injustice?

One of the stated purposes of the American Federation of Government Employees is to prevent the employment or retention of any person who is not completely loyal to the United States of America. Neither do we wish to see any person retained on the public payroll whose character is such as to make him a weak link to the security of our nation in the job which he is performing.

Our concern for loyalty to our country is no sudden awakening to the dangers of communism. Before Communist activities were recognized as a disbaring factor for federal employment, the American Federation of Government Employees warned and fought against Communist infiltration into government. During the early 1930s there was a brief period when the Commies tried hard to capture the A.F.G.E. Our response was firm and unequivocal. Through democratic processes we expelled and publicly denounced those few lodges [locals] which had fallen under Communist control.

It was at this time that we incorporated in our constitution, as a permanent protection against the type of tactics Communists and their fellow-travelers use, the provision forbidding "strikes, picketing or other public acts against governmental authority which have the effect of embarrassing the government."

We believe today, as we have believed through the years of our existence as an organization, that the government must guard against infiltration by any subversive group, and we consider international communism the



MR. CAMPBELL

greatest threat to freedom today. The domestic brand of Communists, thoroughly discredited and isolated though they are, still constitute a potential fifth column with a loyalty to a foreign power.

With that preamble, we vigorously protest the manner in which the so-called security program is operating today, and even more vigorously protest the misuse for partisan purposes of the almost meaningless handful of statistics on the security program.

AT THE time the security program was launched we expressed our doubts of the advisability of lumping together cases of loyalty and cases of misconduct—the alcoholic in need of treatment, the person who concealed an arrest, the employee who once contributed a few dollars to what at the time seemed a worthy cause and the employee of doubtful loyalty.

We remarked on the vagueness of the section of the executive order

which permits discharge from the government service on the basis of:

"Any facts which furnish reason to believe that the individual *may* be subject to coercion, influence or pressure which *may* cause him to act contrary to the best interests of the national security."

We pointed out that the average newspaper reader would not distinguish between the term "security risk" as used in the very broad, all-inclusive meaning of Executive Order 10450 and the much more serious brand of disloyalty or subversive activity.

It was our opinion that charges severe enough to cause the loss of an employee's job should be based on evidence strong enough to meet the light of day. While recognizing that there may be occasional cases where the evidence of a still-functioning undercover informant would have to be accepted on face value rather than end the informant's usefulness, we did not then and we do not now believe that the privilege of anonymity extends to purveyors of malicious gossip and rumors, whose charges might well fall apart under cross-examination.

When the Administration's security program got under way, some government officials and some newspapers were optimistic that careful use of the term would make the meaning clear and that the purpose of the new program was to avoid branding employes as disloyal when there was no evidence of disloyalty on their part.

We did not share that optimism. But neither were we prepared for the shocking and open misuse of the security program by Administration and political leaders for partisan purposes.

For many months the public has been led to believe—through speeches by official Administration spokesmen—that the security program repre-

sented the purging of Communists from the government service. Statistics were released which were completely meaningless. Persons who resigned or lost their jobs through reduction in force were listed as security risks if a later examination of their files showed any derogatory information, even though no charges had ever been brought and they were never offered an opportunity to refute the information.

Included in these statistics, I am sure, is a case I know about where a disabled veteran was discharged because he had once been treated in a mental institution, notwithstanding the fact that he had been released as cured.

There is no doubt that the partisan manipulation of the security program will bring an equally partisan counter-attack in the new Congress. In our view the political arena, with its often reckless charges and countercharges, is not the proper setting to expose and correct the shortcomings of the security program—both the manner in which it was set up and the manner in which it is being administered. The program needs a complete and non-partisan overhauling to restore it

'We're Not Interested in the Truth'

» "Security firings" where employees are dismissed from their jobs in the federal government because of "malicious and untrue" charges are denounced by the American Legion in the current issue of its monthly magazine. The Legion's publication cites three cases in which government agencies have refused to reinstate veterans even though charges against them were proved groundless. The magazine quotes a government spokesman as saying:

"We're not interested in the truth of

the charges but only in the fact that the charges have been made."

The January 14 issue of the weekly *AFL News-Reporter*, in an editorial dealing with the Ladejinsky case, says:

"The furore over the ouster of Wolf Ladejinsky by the Agriculture Department on security charges helped point up the stupidity and the injustice of the Administration security system."

The editorial observes that "this so-called security system may now be investigated and perhaps made sensible."

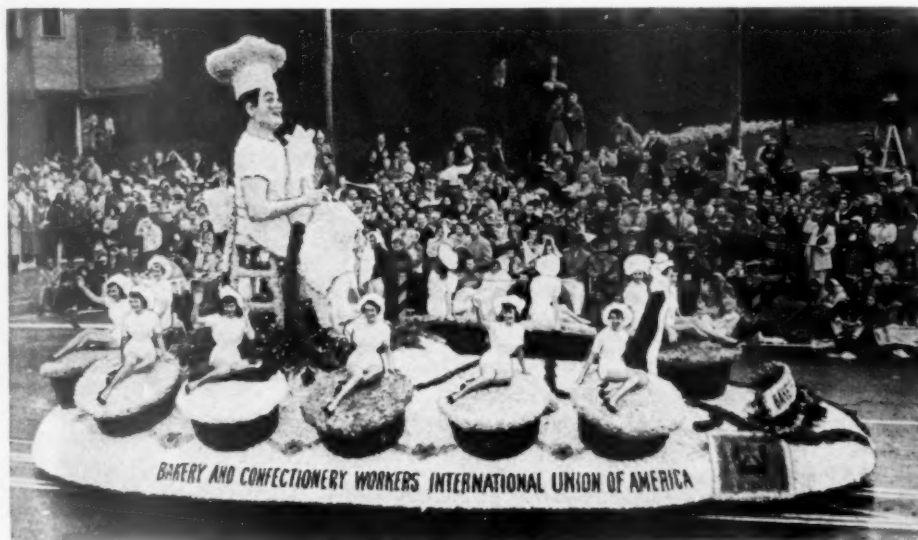
to its original dual intention of protecting the security of our country and the reputations of its employees.

We concur in principle with a proposal by the American Assembly—a distinguished gathering of leaders in business, labor, education and government at Columbia University—that a committee of outstanding citizens be appointed to review the federal government's security program and take the issue out of partisan politics. We would hope that such a committee include representatives of government employees, the group that has been

most damaged by the weaknesses of the present program.

And we further suggest that, pending such revision, the Civil Service Commission limit its statistics on security removals to those cases where persons were actually charged under security program procedures.

It is grossly misleading to include those cases in which employees were dismissed under normal civil service procedures—for misdeeds for which employees have always been subject to dismissal—but without being tarred with the brand of "security risk."



Bakery Workers' Beautiful Float Takes Prize in Tournament of Roses

THIS FLOAT, seen by millions on television on New Year's Day, was the entry of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers International Union. It walked off with first prize in the fraternal division of the world-renowned Rose Parade at Pasadena. Called "Baker's Dozen," the

float featured a giant baker seventeen feet high fashioned in chrysanthemums. Twenty-year-old Jan Somers (photo at right), the Big Ten queen from Michigan State, was one of the beauties aboard the float. The Bakery Workers also won the coveted trophy last year.

'Right to Work' Laws Victimize the Worker

By REV. DR. WALTER G. MUELDER

Dean and Professor of Social Ethics, School of Theology, Boston University

THE direct appeal to a "right to work" arouses a spontaneously warm response in the mind and heart of any sensitive person. In American society work has a high value. It represents productivity and self-respect. A person who is willing to work thereby signifies his sense of responsibility. An unemployed person who wants to work is well thought of and commands sympathy. Americans dislike unnecessary dependence on government. At a time when a few people have learned how to exploit the welfare of government, the demand for an individual opportunity to work seems to express personal integrity.

But for these very reasons it is important to give a realistic analysis of those legislative attempts under the slogan of the "right to work." For the slogan seems to assume that an obvious affirmative response to the "right to work" can be made and that the freedom of opportunity to work without union membership is a simple and self-evident moral fact. We shall see that the right to work is not self-evident.

In modern industrial society, personal and group relationships are highly complex. A long history lies behind the present structure of relative justice in industry. Each job relationship, whether of management or of workers, is surrounded by a firmament of understandings, social policies and legal enactments which defy self-evident slogans.

The significant peace of our present industrial society has been made possible by organizational and institutional agreements entered into through collective bargaining. Tens



WALTER G. MUELDER, D.D.

of thousands of these agreements are involved in the warp and woof of the employment situation. Work is not individualistic; it is a network of conditions, responsibilities and opportunities.

A recent writer has wisely pointed out that the relative justice of labor-management relations today is the product of understandings between two organized groups, industrial management and organized labor, in which both co-exist and in which each retains institutional sovereignty, working together in reasonable harmony and in a climate of mutual respect and confidence.

Industrial peace and labor-management relations cannot be taken for granted. They must be positively striven for. They can be easily undermined where either party violates the assumptions on which the industrial peace exists. We must keep these factors in mind when we reflect on the efforts in numerous states to un-

dermine through "right to work" legislation the basic security of organized labor. In the discussion which follows we will consider first the general problem of rights and then relate it to this legislative situation.

ALL MORAL rights root in the worth of persons in community. This means that rights are claimed by persons in their relations to other persons. Both the principle of individual worth and the principle of social responsibility must be recognized. All persons in the community make claims against all other persons. No one right or claim is unconditional but must prove itself in the light of all other claims.

In the last analysis the standard of measuring the rights of man is the kind of person we ought to develop in society. The kinds of persons we need and can approve of in a democratic society are not the kinds that look out only for themselves but who are responsible members of the community.

In the U.S.A. the principle of personal worth is recognized in many constitutional provisions and legal statutes. Among these an important milestone was Section VI of the Clayton Act of 1914, which begins with these words:

"That the labor of a human being is not a commodity or article of commerce."

It has been one of the great contributions of organized labor to give effective implementation to this idea. It is not worthy of mankind that any individual be treated merely like a commodity in a free market.

Another milestone was the state-

ment of national policy embodied in the Wagner Act of 1935 as follows:

"It is hereby declared to be the policy of the United States to (encourage) the practice and procedure of collective bargaining and (to protect) the exercise of workers of full freedom of association, self-organization and designation of representatives of their own choosing, for the purpose of negotiating the terms and conditions of their employment or other mutual aid or protection."

This national policy of the United States expresses the truth that respect for worker personality is to be protected by and in appropriate and effective associations.

The previous history of labor-management relations had clearly demonstrated that the "right to work" as a moral demand could not be effectively implemented on an individualistic basis but needed both organized labor and the legalized policy of the federal government to be made effective.

WHAT is a right? A right is the moral claim of the person on the community for the satisfaction of needs which are indispensable for his fulfillment as a person. There are many rights which the community is not able to fulfill. For example, in countries like India and China today the community is not able to fulfill the basic claim for enough food to prevent starvation for millions of people. The general moral claim persists as a mandate to the community to create the social conditions in which these basic needs can be satisfied. The claim and the responsibility are two sides of the same moral coin. The general moral claim does not produce the food. To produce enough food for all, many conditions of agricultural and industrial life must be fulfilled. It is a responsible, complex and cooperative assignment. Likewise, the general "right to work" does not produce jobs nor the conditions of just and decent employment. It does not produce a specific claim to a specific job.

A legal right exists when moral rights have been defined and written into law and the appropriate institutional responsibilities have likewise been specified in law with appropriate sanctions. Legal claims do not exist in the abstract; they are part and parcel of developing social pol-

icy. They rest on moral claims, but they are not to be confused with general moral ideals. Legal rights define policies and practices in concrete historic situations. When a legal right has been established, a corresponding legal satisfaction enforceable in the courts has also been established. Workers know these things because of legislation like the Wagner Act and the Taft-Hartley Law.

IS THERE a right to work? Work does not confront the average person so much as a right as it does as a necessity. Most of us *must* work, or else. When we are out of work we need to get a job, or else. The unemployed person has a general moral claim on the community for an opportunity to satisfy his need for a job.

This claim has been put in words by the National Council of Churches:

"Every able-bodied adult has an obligation and the right to an opportunity to serve the community through work. He should take responsibility for supporting himself and his family."

In response to these claims the community has the general obligation to create those institutions through which the need and duty to work can be met. But this general human claim does not create an unconditional legal right to a job in any particular place of employment.

Is there a legal right to work? This question can be answered only by asking another: Who can satisfy such a legal claim? Can private industry in its various forms? Can organized labor? Obviously not. Neither of these private groups can carry the legal obligation of guaranteeing employment to everyone who needs work.

If private industry, which provides the bulk of employment opportunities in the U.S.A., is not able to fill the demand for work for the unemployed, then either the legal right must be limited or institutions must be developed which can legally acknowledge the claims. The claim is not unconditional.

How are moral and legal rights limited? They are limited by all other rights and by objective historical circumstances and relationships. There are no absolute individual rights. The only absolute is spiritual dignity of the person in commun-

This article was published in the January 13 issue of The Machinist, weekly newspaper of the International Association of Machinists, and is reprinted here through the courtesy of Gordon H. Cole, editor.

ity with other persons. Individual work rights are not signed blank checks which can be drawn to any amount on the unlimited resources of society. They are concretely limited by the conditions of responsible employment.

Work rights are the rights of workers. Any worker must be willing to accept the conditions of responsible industrial relations. In modern society these relationships rest on the historical struggles of organized labor and the national policies which have protected the rights of collective bargaining. Even in the Taft-Hartley Act the historic need of the worker to have his freedom protected by union membership and power is recognized. The law says in Section I:

"The inequality of bargaining power between employees who do not possess full freedom of association or actual liberty of contract and employers who are organized in the corporate or other forms of ownership association substantially burdens and affects the flow of commerce, and tends to aggravate recurrent business depressions, by depressing wage rates and the purchasing power of wage-earners in industry and by preventing the stabilization of competitive wage rates and working conditions within and between industries.

"Experience has proved that protection by laws of the right of employees to organize and bargain collectively safeguards commerce from injury, impairment, or interruption, and promotes the flow of commerce by removing certain recognized sources of industrial strife and unrest, by encouraging practices fundamental to the friendly adjustment of industrial disputes arising out of difference as to wages, hours or other working conditions, and by restoring equality of bargaining power between employers and employees."

Industrial peace is a dynamic relationship. A recent scientific survey of conditions of industrial peace be-

gins with this finding: "There is full acceptance by management of the collective bargaining process and of unionism as an institution. The company considers a strong union an asset to management." There are other causes of responsible industrial peace, but this one is fundamental.

It would appear, then, that the current concern of some private interests to promote so-called "right to work" laws expresses either ulterior interests hiding behind a misnomer or it expresses a moral confusion. Since "right to work" laws are claims which will cost somebody something, we may ask: Who will bear the price?

What do they cost the business man? Very little in the short run. They increase his immediate freedom of operation. He has greater freedom from the union's active participation in the decision-making processes. In the long run, however, his price is high in terms of cutthroat competition from other businesses, in terms of labor unrest, in terms of low morale among his workers, in terms of protracted strikes such as marked the industrial world before unionism became firm national policy.

What cost will the union bear?

The major cost, both immediately and in the long run. The cost includes union insecurity, anxiety about the labor contract, the threat of lower wages, the sense of defeat in the struggle for industrial democracy and stability.

What cost will the non-union employee bear? At first it means freedom from union obligations. But it means tension with his fellow workers who have achieved, through collective bargaining, whatever wage rates, hours and working conditions characterize the factory, plant or place of work. In the long run it means the same fate for his "right" as confronts all unorganized workers, and it means the demoralization of the labor force. It means freedom from security and freedom from opportunity to share in the decisions affecting his own work and family welfare.

In sum, no one gains in the long run and everyone loses. Democracy suffers from the anarchy of union insecurity.

It is a most irresponsible social policy to destroy the integrity of labor unions under the guise of the so-called "right to work." The individual worker has no effective legal right to work under conditions worthy

of human dignity where strong unions have been eliminated. Since collective bargaining is under present circumstances a proved condition of stable industrial relations, a worker has a moral obligation to accept his share of responsibility through membership in organized labor.

But what of the large portion of the labor force who do not belong to organized labor? Undoubtedly many of the benefits which they experience are by-products of the historical victories of the trade unions. They owe gratitude and support to the trade unions. They may not be in a position to join a bonafide trade union, but they ought to seek the extension of collective bargaining so as to expand the area of truly responsible industrial relations.

The "right to work" laws are a virtual conspiracy of the crafty, the ignorant or the misguided to subvert industrial peace, exploit men's need to work and deluge the community with industrial irresponsibility. "Right to work" laws do not create jobs; they only victimize the worker and make his organization ineffective.

COPYRIGHT, 1955, BY INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MACHINISTS

Polydor Has No Use for Commies

A HUSKY French bus driver weighing 230 pounds is doing his share to lick the Communists. He's a good-natured man named Polydor Verbecke. He has red hair. He lives in Toulouse, which is in the south of France.

Verbecke got into bus driving and union organizing after a series of trials which would have dismayed most people, writes K. L. Stevens in the magazine of the International Transport Workers Federation.

Formerly a truck driver in the north of France, where he was born in 1908, Verbecke, his wife and daughter took refuge in the south of France after several wartime dislocations.

While the bulky Polydor was serving in the French army early in the war, advancing German troops took their town. The Verbeckes' small house was destroyed. His wife, Aline, and daughter, Giselle, then 13, escaped to Brittany. A large photo-

graph of a proudly smiling papa in soldier's uniform was their only salvage.

Continually fleeing from the on-rushing armies, they made contact with him when, after a year's silence, he received nineteen letters from Aline and Giselle in the same mail as he lay in a Bordeaux hospital recovering from wounds. Discovering that their last address was only 100 miles south, Verbecke ducked out of the hospital and hitch-hiked to the spot.

For the next year, wearing his dyed army uniform, he drove a truck for a relief depot. Later the family moved to Toulouse and he became a city bus driver there. When the war ended, he and some friends started organizing a union, affiliated with the C.G.T., the Confederation Generale du Travail, to which he himself had belonged before the war.

But it wasn't the same C.G.T. any more. It had changed its complexion.

The Communists had gained control of the Toulouse city administration and no one could obtain a job without a party card. The union soon was stacked with Communists, as happened in most C.G.T. unions throughout the country.

Verbecke saw what was taking place and he was not pleased. He and four other anti-Communist members formed a caucus inside the union.

Late in 1947 the Communists were calling general strikes all over France. They shut down the Toulouse transportation system completely, in the process virtually closing down the city as well. Wages were very low and working conditions far from ideal, but the Communist leaders of the C.G.T. were not concerned about improving the lot of French workers. The sole purpose of the Communist leaders in France was to serve the interests of Soviet Russia.

As other democratic trade unionists fought back (Continued on Page 31)



MR. STEVENSON

Here's Something We Can Learn From Business

By JOHN R. STEVENSON

*First General Vice-President,
United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners*

RECENTLY I bought a piece of electrical equipment that turned out to be a dud. Although it looked perfectly all right, it refused to do the job for which it was intended. While it was exasperating to know that I had paid out good money for a piece of equipment that did not work, the liberal education I received in good customer relations before the matter was finally adjusted more than compensated for the momentary irritation involved.

The piece of equipment was an electric mixer. The first time my wife tried to use it, she discovered that it had only one speed—wide open. The fact that the switch was marked for a dozen different speeds meant nothing. If you turned the switch on, it was full blast or nothing.

Since intricacies of cooking require flexibility in the speeds at which different mixtures are beaten, a mixer without adjustable speeds apparently is worse than nothing. So I notified the department store where I had bought the mixer of the difficulties we were having. The manager of the electrical appliance department was very sympathetic. He promised to send a serviceman out in a day or two.

Sure enough, the next day a re-

pairman from the store was at our house. He took the mixer apart, tinkered with it for a while and then shook his head.

"I'll have to take it into the shop," he finally announced.

With the mixer under his arm, he departed. For several days we heard nothing. Then the department manager called again to say that the mixer was defective, and would it be all right if he sent out a new one? That was O.K. with us.

In due time the new mixer arrived. It worked fine. But a couple of days later a store representative arrived to ask us if we were satisfied. We assured him that we were, but a day or two later a representative of the company making the mixer also called to apologize and to explain that, despite all precautions that can be taken, a defective machine is bound to slip through once in a while.

THE point in all this is that both the department store where I had bought the mixer and the company which had manufactured it went to great lengths to pacify a dissatisfied customer. They took time and trouble to maintain the good will of a customer who was a potential knocker.

It seems to me that organized labor profitably could take a page from the book of business concerns. We are in business, too. Our customers are the members we serve plus the people we have to deal with outside of the organization.

If a member is dropping out of our organization, do we always contact the man to try to find out why he is leaving? When a nasty but uninformed letter knocking unions appears in the letters-to-the-editor department of the local paper, do we take time out to put the writer straight with the actual facts? Too often, I am afraid, the answer is no.

That at least one District Council is carrying on a customer relations program with some degree of success is attested to by a letter recently received from this particular District Council. In part the letter said:

"Our Council started with a total net membership on April 30, 1954, of 1,294 members. During the month of May we had one member clear out, three suspended, two deaths, four cleared in and sixteen initiations, for a total of 1,308.

"During the month of June we had two suspensions, one cleared in and sixteen initiations, for a total of 1,323. During July we had six cleared out, six suspensions, one death, five cleared in and twenty-five initiations, for a total of 1,340. The total of fifty-seven initiations for the three-month period is primarily the result of our organizing activities.

"During the same period we suspended eleven members for non-payment of dues. Instructions have now been issued requiring our business agents to interview all members liable for suspension. We saved three such members and settled some of the



WOMEN who work for a living receive higher pay and have greater job security if they belong to the Office Employees International Union, A. F. of L. Urge the unorganized office employees you meet to join the O.E.I.U. today.

grievances which were causing them to drop out.

"The attitude of our local as well as others regarding a member about to be suspended was 'to hell with him—we are better off without him.' While this may be true in some instances, it would appear that some effort should be made to discover why a member desires to sever his membership. * * * It takes two new members to register an increase over each suspension."

It seems to me that this District Council is on the right track. If stores and manufacturing corporations can spend money and time to keep from losing customers, I see no reason why we, too, should not be devoting a little thought to "customer relations."

Business executives know that human nature is a funny thing—that imaginary grievances and dissatisfactions sometimes can lead to just as serious consequences as real ones. They know that prejudices and misunderstandings often grow up unconsciously and, if not straightened out, lead to serious consequences.

I do not believe we need beg any man to become or remain a member of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners.

If a man who has en-

joyed the fruits of collective bargaining for ten years or five years or even one year has not learned the value of organization, if he is so thick-headed that he cannot realize the only hope of the working man for economic justice lies in unionism, then he cannot possibly be much of an asset to any organization.

On the other hand, every man following our trade who works under non-union conditions is a threat to the wages and working conditions of every union man. To that extent at least, every carpenter who leaves our ranks to shift for himself in the pitiless rat-race of non-union competition weakens both himself and our organization. Therefore, we have an interest in his status as a workman.

I believe that, generally speaking, the labor movement has been somewhat lax in developing good public relations on all fronts. I have known instances where building trades unions have donated as much as \$100,000 worth of free labor to a worthy civic cause without getting more than a two-paragraph notice on Page 47 of the local newspaper. I have known cases of labor unions taking over blood banks and the whole thing being a well-kept secret.

I do not advocate labor unions hiring press agents and advertising counsels, but neither do I think that we should constantly work in the dark. Somewhere in between there is a happy middle ground. We need neith-

er brag about our contributions to civic betterment nor hide our light under a bushel. Like every other organization and every other segment of our society, labor needs friends. And the only way to win friends is by contributing something constructive and making the contribution known.

Surely we can take a little extra time to promote our labor organizations. Lack of friends in 1947 saddled us with the Taft-Hartley Act. Lack of sufficient friends to repeal it has kept it on the statute books.

Last spring there was an article in *The Carpenter* urging union business agents and secretaries who come into contact with schoolboys looking for work to show them every possible consideration. I believe that this is sound advice. Especially when one is busy, it is a temptation to brush off an outsider for whom you can do very little anyway. But human nature is such that an enemy, once made, usually remains an enemy throughout life.

Business concerns are cold-blooded propositions. They only do those things which pay off in bigger and better profits. If they have found that the time and expense of good public relations are good investments, it seems to me that labor unions ought to profit by their experience.

We have something to sell, too—service to our members and service to our community and nation.

The way to sell them is to keep our customers informed and happy.

READ

The American
FEDERATIONIST
LABOR'S MAGAZINE



Tell your friends to subscribe. Timely, worthwhile reading in every issue. And the price is only \$2 a year.

SEND ALL SUBSCRIPTION ORDERS, WITH CHECKS OR MONEY ORDERS, TO THE AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST, A. F. OF L. BUILDING, WASHINGTON

Labor NEWS BRIEFS

►Local 118 of the Teamsters has won an arbitration award raising wages eight cents an hour for 1,000 members in Rochester, N. Y. The pay boost is retroactive to last April 16. It will cost 100 employers a total of about \$130,000.

►Locals 738 and 797 of the Paper Workers have negotiated their first contract with the Riegel-Carolina Corporation, Acme, N. C. The agreement calls for a pay increase, six paid holidays, group insurance, a pension plan and other benefits.

►Thacher Winslow, director of the International Labor Organization's office in Washington, died January 9. He was 47. Mr. Winslow went with the I.L.O. in 1950 after a period of service in the U.S. Department of Labor. Earlier he had been an official of the National Youth Administration.

►Local 1640 of the Retail Clerks, in negotiations with the state government of Washington, has obtained higher pay in all classifications and an escalator clause for part-time employees.

►Local 577, Chemical Workers, has been certified to represent the employees of Hilton Brothers in Calgary, Alberta, Canada. Negotiations are under way for a first agreement.

►Local 1339, School Clerical Employees, Providence, R. I., has won pay increases, a new classification system, new pay ranges and provisions for seniority increments.

►The Ladies' Garment Workers in St. Louis have negotiated their first agreement with Royal Dalton, Ltd. The pact raises wages and provides health benefits, paid vacations and other gains.

►Local 302, Cafeteria Employees, has signed a first contract with four Sieburg Buffet Restaurants in New York City calling for a 10-cent hourly increase for all employees.

►Local 454, Retail Clerks, has signed a first contract with the New York Furniture Company in Denver, Colo.



U.S. bond drive was mapped by this group. Front row, extreme left, rail labor's A. E. Lyon; next to him, Lewis G. Hines of A. F. of L.

►Employees in the masking department at the Newsplate Engraving Company, Detroit, who only recently became affiliated with Local 12 of the Photo-Engravers, have won a 40-cent hourly increase and other contract improvements.

►Local 1048, Electrical Workers, spent \$12,000 to clothe 500 needy children in Indianapolis at Christmas. The union members make the project a year-around proposition with weekly contributions which are banked until Christmastime.

►Four thousand building laborers in Oregon have won a six-cent hourly increase under terms of a new three-year pact with the Oregon building division of the Associated General Contractors and the Concrete Contractors Association.

►Victory in a strike at two Kraft Foods plants in Chicago has brought a pay increase of 17 cents an hour and other contract gains for 1,500 members of Local 754, Teamsters.

►Local 106, Cemetery Workers, Chicago, has signed a new contract with Catholic cemeteries. The agreement provides for pay hikes, three-week vacations, six paid holidays, a pension plan, life insurance, hospitalization and a guaranteed workweek.

►Seven hundred members of Local 435, Laborers, have won increased pay in new contracts with the Monroe County General Contractors Association, the Concrete and Aggregates Association and eight unaffiliated contractors in Rochester, N. Y.

►Local 143, Chemical Workers, has won an increase of six cents an hour in wage-reopener negotiations with American Cyanamid Company, Lederle Laboratories Division, Pearl River, N. Y.

►Local 3 of the Electrical Workers has completed a new two-year accord with Republic Steel in New York City. The agreement calls for wage increases for employees, holiday pay, a vacation plan and severance pay.

►Higher pay and a health and welfare plan feature a new agreement between Local 1265, Retail Clerks International Association, and the Economy Department Store, Oakland, Calif.

►Local 27, Asbestos Workers, has reached an agreement with the Master Insulators Association, Kansas City, Mo., calling for a 15-cent hourly increase and fringe benefits.

►Joint efforts by Local 174, Laundry Workers, and Local 360, Teamsters, gained success in an election held at the Janesville Steam Laundry, Janesville, Wis.

►Local 1304, Public Employees, has obtained the forty-hour workweek and a yearly wage increase for employees of Windham County, Conn.

►Farm workers in Britain are now seeking a 15 per cent wage increase. The Agricultural Workers Union, which has 150,000 members, is campaigning for public support of its bid for higher wages. The union points out that the boost would check the drift from the land to jobs in the cities.

►School office employees of the East Chicago, Ind., school system have asked the Board of Education to recognize the Office Employees as their bargaining agent.

►The Chemical Workers won a representation election at Producers Imperial Company, Calipatria, Calif., by a margin of better than 6 to 1.

►An eight-cent package increase has been won by Local 112, Firemen and Oilers, at the D. H. Grandin Milling Company, Smethport, Pa.

►Local 153 of the Office Employees, New York, has been recognized as bargaining agent at the White Rock Beverage Company.

►Local 305, Upholsterers, has won a general wage increase at the American Furniture Company, Batesville, Ind.



John Schreier (center), regional organizer, hails Local 20897 at opening of new office

►Federal Labor Union 20897 held open house to launch its new office at Saginaw, Mich. Members of the union work at the Baker-Perkins Company. In photo, Financial Secretary Louis Rossome is at left and President Carl Fraham is at right.

►Local 56, Food and Allied Workers, a unit of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters, has won a new contract for workers in the oyster industry at Port Norris, N. J.

►Local 622, Brick and Clay Workers, has been established at the Colorado Brick Company, Longmont, Colo. The company has recognized the union.



Members of Local 186, U.A.W.-A. F. of L., huddle on safety in Illinois arms plant

►Local 127 of the Cement, Lime and Gypsum Workers has won wage increases and fringe benefits at the Newark Plaster Company and Tomkins Tidewater Terminal, South Kearney, N. J.

►Wage boosts of 40 cents an hour have been obtained in a new pact between Local 250, A. F. of L. Auto Workers, and the H. Barrows Company in New York City.

►Local 256, Office Employees, has completed negotiations for a new agreement with the News Printing Company of Fort Worth, Tex. The pact calls for higher pay and other gains.

►Substantial wage increases have been gained by Local 606, Meat Cutters, at the Safeway, Furr Foods, Food Mart and other stores in El Paso, Texas.

►Federal Labor Union 18820, Optical Workers, has won a substantial wage increase and fringe benefits in Pittsburgh. Affected members total 150.

►Local 962, A. F. of L. Auto Workers, has won a wage increase in a new accord with the American Crucible Products Company, Lorain, Ohio.

►Local 152 of the Technical Engineers was victorious in a representation election held at the Catalytic Construction Company, Marcus Hook, Pa.

►Local 29 of the Office Employees has signed clothing and jewelry concerns in Oakland, Calif., to contracts which increase pay for the office workers.

►Local 76 of the Cement, Lime and Gypsum Workers has obtained a wage increase at the National Gypsum Company, Sun City, Kans.

►Local 9 of the Bookbinders has obtained a wage increase for employees of the Western Tablet and Stationery Company in St. Joseph, Mo.

Local 26, Metal Polishers, has obtained a new agreement with the Midwest Plating Corporation, Logansport, Ind. Local 71 of the same union has completed a contract with the Hoffman Specialty Company, Indianapolis.

The Journeymen Barbers in Michigan presented a \$10,066 check to the Michigan Society for Crippled Children and Adults. The gift represented the contribution of one day's earnings by the union barbers.

Local 444, A. F. of L. Auto Workers, has signed a new accord covering two plants of the Oliver Corporation in Battle Creek, Mich. Wage boosts and additional benefits feature the new contract.

Local 65, Upholsterers, has won a pay raise under terms of a new accord with casket manufacturing firms in Oregon and Washington.

Local 1876 of the Carpenters has been victorious in an election at the Chris-Craft Corporation, Salisbury, Md.

Local 81, Sheet Metal Workers, has signed an accord with the Petro Furnace and Metal Works, St. Joseph, Mo.

Local 243, A. F. of L. Auto Workers, has completed negotiations for a new contract with the Viking Air Conditioning Company in Cleveland.

Federal Labor Unions in Canada Hold Conference



A CONFERENCE of federal labor unions held recently in Toronto was a most successful event. Delegates were present from Ontario and Quebec, Canada's most popu-

lous provinces. The chief purpose of the meeting was to acquaint the federal labor unions with the new provisions of the A. F. of L. constitution affecting them.

An area agreement covering the Liggett Drug Stores in Western Massachusetts and Connecticut has been negotiated by Local 593, Retail Clerks.

The A. F. of L. Auto Workers were triumphant in an election held at the Crown Steel Products Company, Orville, Ohio, by a margin of 3 to 1.

Local 381, Paper Workers, has negotiated wage hikes at five New York City paper firms.

Local 113, Cement Workers, has won a wage increase at the National Gypsum Company, Mobile, Ala.

The Paper Workers have won a representation election held at the Strong Bag Company in Richmond, Va.

Higher wages have been gained by Local 252, Plasterers and Cement Masons, at Ogden, Utah.

The Ladies' Garment Workers won an election among employees of the H. A. Satin Company, Grayville, Ill.

Members of Local 1033, Public Employees, have won a monthly pay hike at Ottawa, Ill.

Local 897, Cement Masons, has won a wage increase at Bismarck, N. Dak.

THERE STILL IS TIME. GIVE NOW TO THE MARCH OF DIMES.



Santa Claus at Labor Temple was delighted to make the acquaintance of little Michele Lemastus. Smiling lady is Michele's mother.

Talk about Yuletide fun! These children were snapped at the Pipe Fitters' thrilling and enjoyable party. Did you ever see a happier group?



Christmas Was Merry in MINNEAPOLIS



UNIONS in Minneapolis staged many wonderful Christmas parties for children. Among the most successful of these parties were those put on by the Laborers and the Pipe Fitters. Their parties and other union-sponsored Christmas events brought joy to record turnouts.



Above—These are the ladies who did a fine job serving the huge throng at the Laborers' party. Above left—Just look at those happy kids! These represent only a small part of the total turnout at the Laborers' party. Left—The family of Dryton Berg was found dining in the balcony. Brother Berg, in faraway Greenland on an important job, could not make it home for Christmas.

War Against Muscular Dystrophy

(Continued from Page 19)

convention at Miami in August, 1954. The delegates agreed without a dissenting vote to spearhead the muscular dystrophy drive. And then the real work began.

Three of our vice-presidents were assigned to headquarters of the Muscular Dystrophy Associations. Jack Bostick, vice-president of the Eleventh District, Fort Worth, Texas, was assigned to M.D.A. headquarters in New York in charge of liaison. He directed all inquiries to the official personnel of M.D.A. William D. Buck, vice-president of the Second District, St. Louis, did all the field work in the central part of the United States. S. P. Stevens, vice-president of the Ninth District, Portland, Oregon, attended to all field work on the Pacific Coast.

The other twelve vice-presidents, our international trustees and all the state and local officers then took over in the various states and provinces in the United States and Canada.

The big job still lay ahead. Every officer and every member in his own home town and city established contact with chapters of the muscular dystrophy people in order to coordinate their activities in securing publicity from newspapers, radio stations and television stations. Where there were no M.D.A. chapters, the Fire

Fighters had to go it alone as all national appeals for funds over television were prohibited and the Martin and Lewis show, which had given such valuable publicity in 1953, was out. However, many spot announcements were secured, and the cooperation of sponsors of the national broadcasting stations helped tremendously.

The governors of nearly every state and the mayors of many cities issued proclamations. Several governors and mayors appeared on national broadcasts. Notable among these was Governor Williams of Michigan, who traveled to New York to appear on John Daly's television show, "What's My Line?" to make a public appeal for funds in this drive.

In some cities there were other drives at this time, and a different date was set for the collection of funds for Muscular Dystrophy Associations. In still other cities it was necessary to work with the United Fund and other coordinated fund-raising drives.

Depositories for the funds were made available at local banks, and each bank counted the funds and forwarded them to M.D.A.'s national headquarters, together with an itemized statement of all money received. The Fire Fighters at no time were in charge of making the returns. Reputable

banks were chosen for this task. At the national headquarters of the Muscular Dystrophy Associations, all monies received were likewise sent to a bank, and a staff was set up to record every penny received. A record was made of each donor, the amount and the city from which it came. So when a complete audit is made, due credit will be given to each community for the total amount received.

While the final figures are not in as yet, the amount accounted for to date is \$3,500,000. The total amount collected in the drive will not be available for sixty days. With the many obstacles that had to be overcome, and notwithstanding the Fire Fighters' lack of previous experience in a drive of this nature, the results of the campaign in the U.S. and Canada have surpassed all expectations.

One of the surprising things in connection with this drive was that our members discovered persons who were suffering from muscular dystrophy, and through the funds collected the Muscular Dystrophy Associations will be able to do something for them.

In behalf of the Fire Fighters of the United States and Canada, we want to thank the labor editors who gave of their time and space to promote this cause.

And to every officer and member of organized labor who cooperated in any way go our sincere thanks.

Polydor Has No Use for Commies

(Continued from Page 24)

elsewhere, Verbecke and his friends in Toulouse succeeded in squashing the threat. They established a separate democratic union. Then they joined the newly formed Force Ouvrière, the national group of democratic unionists who left the Communist-dominated C.G.T.

The article reports that hefty Polydor Verbecke is now the elected delegate of the Toulouse bus drivers. His pay is low, while prices are high. His wife is taking in washing to supplement the family income.

"We don't eat a lot," says Polydor, "but what we eat is good. And Mama is a good cook."

In 1953 he attended a union training course which was given near Paris. He received schooling in the

principles and practices of democratic trade unionism. Forty-three other transport workers also attended.

With a bus driver's split shift, from 6 A.M. to 6 P.M., and union work in the evenings, the red-headed dynamo has a long day. He is unable to go home between shifts.

"That's all right," he says. "It gives me time to look after grievances—and tussle with the Communists."

Verbecke feels that the training at the labor school in 1953 has made him a much more effective representative of the members of his union.

"I still may not always know what the employers are talking about, but I do know what we're entitled to—and they won't cheat us."

This vigorous French wage-earner

and trade unionist has a serious understanding of his union role. He has studied organizing and propaganda techniques, the history of the old, "real" C.G.T. and something of the free trade unions in other countries.

"We have a lot to thank them for, the other free unions," he says. "We in the Force Ouvrière are still not as strong as we'd like to be. But the free trade unions in a lot of countries are setting us a good example—one that we 'young militants' in France are doing our best to follow."



WHAT THEY SAY

Richard J. Gray, president, Building and Construction Trades Department, A. F. of L.



—There is a section in the Taft-Hartley Act that grants to labor unions the right to organize a union shop—not a closed shop but a union shop—provided they have been certified as a bargaining agent. That act gives jurisdiction to the federal government because interstate commerce is affected. But then we come down to another section of the same Taft-Hartley Act, Section 14(b), where the federal government, through Congress, turns around and says to the states: "We feel that the unions have the right to a union shop, but you can take it away from them through state action under Section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act." Think of the inconsistency of that! I have talked on this point to the President of the United States and to practically every member of Congress. They agree that our opposition to such inconsistency is sound and right—but we have not had the votes in Congress to change it.

Nancy Pratt, A. F. of L. staff, Washington—Are you an "impulse buyer"



when it comes to major purchases? A recent survey of consumer purchasing patterns revealed that a good one-fourth of families buy large appliances, such as refrigerators and television sets, with almost no advance planning or comparison shopping. Surprisingly, there are more spur-of-the-moment buyers among the lower-income families which most need the advantages that usually flow from careful shopping. The majority of buyers tend to base their choice on one factor alone, with little attention to other important aspects of value. On the other hand, almost one-fourth of all buyers do plan ahead and weigh quality, oper-

ating costs and style in addition to brand and price. Young married couples tend to be more careful than their elders in choosing appliances. In a large number of families the basis for selection seems to be the brands seen in the homes of friends and relatives. These findings by the Survey Research Center of the University of Michigan indicate that a sizable portion of working families could add to the effectiveness of their dollars by following the principles of wise shopping. A major appliance is a major investment, one which you have to live with a long time. Refrigerators, ranges and washing machines are our Twentieth Century servants. Check their references fully. Investigate and compare guarantees, operating expenses, materials the appliance is made of and special features.

Reuben G. Soderstrom, president, Illinois State Federation of Labor—



The state legislators of Illinois are entitled to more commendation than criticism. However, it is difficult to convince the public that a group of politicians who have come up the rough and rocky road of double-talk, billingsgate, slander and abuse can—when sworn in as members of the General Assembly—turn themselves into dignified, sincere, judicial and polite statesmen. That is asking just too much of an overly suspicious public. Yet these men and women are of us, chosen by us and represent us, and are, on the average, better than most of us. Most of them have a long career behind them of rough-and-tumble campaigns to get elected to various offices. Campaigning against them were plenty of people who were willing to wade through the hurricane of mud to get the job. It isn't temper or anger that brings out the defiant and strong talk by lawmakers on controversial issues. It is habit. It is the inborn nature of people who have survived in a political life in which sensitive souls perish or are driven away to be a

little belligerent and defiant. So I desire to salute the members of the Illinois General Assembly. They have proved themselves to be the best bunch of quarreling friends that the labor movement of our state was ever blessed with. When we scream or shout at them they, of course, scream or shout back at us. When we respect their views they, in turn, respect ours. Lawmakers are human. They have feelings, emotions and tempers like the rest of us. A sincere salute to them is really a salute to ourselves. The legislators of Illinois know how to kick and shake hands at the same time. We in labor do, too.

Lewis G. Hines, special representative, A. F. of L.—Every year new



workers enter American industry. It is essential that they be taught thoroughly to engage in safe working practices and to be on the alert for hazards. They must learn these things not only for their own protection but for the protection of their fellow workers. The record of industrial accidents and deaths is continuously before us. Accidents are tragic. And accidents cost money. The loss of a day, a week or a month affects the nation's production. For many years the American Federation of Labor has been keenly aware of the need for close cooperation between labor and management for the promotion of safe working practices and for the prevention of accidents in industry. There is no question that industrial safety is one sphere in which labor and management can cooperate to the utmost. Safety is one problem on which labor and management can and must join together wholeheartedly. In addition to labor-management cooperation, there is the necessity of having the most effective government assistance, particularly in the states. Inspectors who are employed by the states to enforce the safety laws have a vital responsibility, for the best laws and the best regulations are without value unless they are effectively enforced. These inspectors should be good men and they should be paid salaries that hold good men. They should be assured of reasonable job security.

Did Abe Lincoln Know?

NO ONE knows just what he's going to be when he's young," Dave remarked. "Least of all me." He grinned. "I just go along, hoping to get good grades and figuring that as I learn more I'll become more able to decide what to take on for my life's work."

Roger and Jan were walking along with Dave. Roger nodded in agreement. Jan kicked a stone out of the way.

"Jan, what have you in mind?" Dave asked.

"Well, I want to get through high school. Then I want to learn a good trade. I'll join the union and probably settle down, get married and have a family." He looked up at his companions. "I've moved around so much in my life that just being settled down seems the most wonderful thing in the world."

"I can see that," asserted Dave. "You've been practically all over the world, so I can see how you like being in one place for a while. But for myself, I'd like to get out and travel around."

Jan understood Dave's point of view. Jan was a child of the war years. He was born in Europe and had been homeless for a great part of his life. He and his mother had managed to stay together some of the time, but there was a period of almost two years when they were separated. Jan had been befriended by a man who had made it possible for him to come to the United States. Nearly two years elapsed before his mother was able to join him.

Jan soon had many friends in the town where they made their home. Eagerly he studied his lessons, especially American history. Here at last he had a home and a place. It was with a fervent joy each morning that he joined his classmates in the pledge of allegiance to the Flag. His very seriousness made the banner seem dearer than ever to the others in his classroom, for they could read in his face and expression the depth of feeling in the grateful boy's heart. Free America had become Jan's haven and his home.

Roger had made his mind up. He

wanted to be a doctor. He was interested in the choice of a college.

The three boys continued their conversation as they walked along. Soon they came to the town square. Jan stopped. He wanted to gaze at the statue of Abraham Lincoln.

"I like this statue best of all the monuments I've ever seen," said Jan. "And I want to go to Washington and see the Lincoln Memorial there. I have a picture of it at home." He paused. "I feel like this man is my friend."

Dave and Roger stood with their companion. Roger felt that this was the first time he had really seen the bronze face and figure before them.

Jan spoke again.

"I read that he was just a poor boy. His mother died when he was a child. Abe and his father had to move around from place to place. It was some time before his father got married again and Abe had a real home. He and I are sort of alike in that way, I guess. Only I had my mother instead of my father."

"Well, I expect they had sort of a different time moving around," Dave said. "They were practically always where they could make friends. They were more or less pioneers."

"You know, he had hardly any education," said Roger. "Not that he didn't study. But he didn't get to go to school much."

"That's right, Roger," said Jan. "I've read that he had very little time in school, but he learned to read and do his arithmetic by firelight. Later he taught himself to be a lawyer. And he was a good one. Abe Lincoln was elected to the Legislature when he was only about 25. And he was sent to Congress, too."

Roger and Dave were often surprised at the knowledge of their national history which this European-born boy had at his fingertips.

"Then he was elected President," Jan continued. "And then came the Civil War. Again his life was sort of like mine, only I had my war-time earlier than he had his. And I wasn't the one in charge, as he was, as the leader of his nation."

The boy paused. Dave and Roger

were silent, too. They were thinking.

"We both knew what war was like," Jan said, very quietly. "And neither of us liked it. But he knew and I know that there are times when we have to fight for the things that are right and worth keeping."

After another pause Jan went on: "I like what he said about being a slave: 'As I would not be a slave, so I would not be a master. This expresses my idea of a democracy. Whatever differs from this, to the extent of the difference is no democracy.'"

"I like what he said about labor and capital," said Dave. "I hope I can remember it as well as you remembered that other quotation. It goes like this: 'Labor is prior to, and independent of, capital. Capital is only the fruit of labor, and could never have existed if labor had not first existed.'"

Now it was Roger's turn to speak.

"One of the things my father often says when he feels in need of being bolstered up," said Roger, "is Lincoln's saying: 'It is difficult to make a man miserable while he feels he is worthy of himself and claims kindred to the great God who made him.'"

The boys turned from the statue to continue on their way home.

"It's like I said," Dave remarked. "It's difficult to know just what we'll be when we grow up. I bet Lincoln the boy never in his wildest dreams imagined he would some day be President of the United States."

"How fortunate we are," said Jan, "to live in this beautiful free country, this great land of opportunity."

The American Federation of Labor will be glad to send worthwhile free literature about labor to any girl or boy who is interested. To obtain this free material, please mail your name and address to Junior Union, 901 Massachusetts Ave., N.W., Washington 1, D. C.

HEAR THIS NOTED COMMENTATOR!

TELL YOUR FRIENDS TO TUNE IN!

Spread the good word!

ED MORGAN



**NIGHTLY . . . FROM WASHINGTON
MONDAY THROUGH FRIDAY**